

NOVEMBER 7, 1988 \$2

Maclean's

A close-up, black and white portrait of George Bush, looking slightly to the right with a faint smile. He is wearing a light-colored shirt and a dark tie.

CAPE
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THE MEAN MACHINES

—
**U.S. SMEAR
CAMPAIGNS
ALIENATE
VOTERS**

—
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CANADIAN
RACE TURN
UGLY, TOO?**

Candidate
George Bush





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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 7, 1996 VOL. 101 NO. 44

CONTENTS

- 2 **EDITORIAL**
- 6 **LETTERS/PASSAGES**
- 8 **OPENING NOTES**
Power trips on the battlements, Jesse Rende's left; Deng Xiaoping is asked to butt out; Greville waves off the way; contrasting media images on the campaign trail; a newswoman wakes on London; a note of hope for a concert hall
- 11 **COLUMN/FRANCIS**
- 12 **CANADA**
The parties court celebrity; overlapping elections cause confusion; the federal campaign's hidden programming; interest groups spend freely; fighting hard on the fringes
- 23 **PEOPLE**
- 24 **WORLD**
A victory for South Africa's ruling party; West Germany's chancellor visits Moscow
- 40 **BUSINESS**
Merger mania sweeps America; the everyday impact of free trade
- 50 **BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN**
- 51 **MEDICINE**
France endures an abortion pill back on sale
- 52 **WILDLIFE**
Controversy rages over goose hunting by children
- 54 **ENVIRONMENT**
Nuclear weapons plants may have endangered thousands
- 56 **HEALTH**
A new prenatal test for birth defects
- 58 **ANOTHER VIEW/GORDON**
- 59 **FILMS**
Woody Allen connects with his third swing at baseball drama
- 64 **MUSIC**
Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil is finally flying on her own
- 66 **TELEVISION**
A poignant look at "the war to end all wars"
- 67 **BOOKS**
Peter Gougeon entertains but does not reveal
- 68 **FOTHERINGHAM**



COVER

THE MEAN MACHINES

As Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis threw himself into a last-ditch fight for victory, mutual mauling in the presidential election matched an ugly crescendo. Both Dukakis and his Republican opponent, George Bush, who enjoys a solid lead in the polls, accused each other of lying. But the season may prove costly for whomever wins on Nov. 6. Both men risk losing voters' respect. — 38

CANADA

PLAYING TO WIN

The Conservative campaign survives in a highly disciplined organization that in the eyes of both the Liberals and the New Democrats. Successful fund-raising, private polling and a computer-aided discrediting program have helped to give Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Tories their edge. — 12



BUSINESS

GREENING THE PROFITS

Consumer anger over environmental pollutants is mounting. Now, many corporations are realizing that good environmental practices can also increase profits. In growing numbers, they are reducing waste, eliminating toxins and offering safe alternatives—and consumers are willing to pay more for it. — 40



COVER PHOTO BY SUZAN GORDMAN/NTSUS GROUP



A Demeaning Process

On Nov. 8, after surviving the meanest and most alienating political campaign in memory, the American people will go to the polls to elect the 41st president of the United States. The negative campaign will likely contribute to what many observers predict will be the lowest voter turnout of the century. And regardless of the victor, he will have been demeaned. For Canadians, the U.S. election should serve as a warning of how vicious advertising—and a conspicuous failure to address the issues—can cause a loss of respect for the entire process.

Over the past year, Washington Bureau Chief Marc McDougal has visited 24 states, circling the country many times. "I have learned that there really are fundamental differences between the United States and Canada," said McDougal. "For one thing, there is the Americans' obsession with guns. In the tiny town of Lone Star, Tex., I didn't meet anyone with fewer than two guns, including women. The obsession seems to be connected with a general fear that comes from seeing the country as the last frontier."

Covering the campaign was also a shock to McDougal. After reading Timothy Crooner's *The Boys on the Bus*, she had expected to meet a raucous, hard-drinking press corps. But in the end, she agreed with two female American reporters who nicknamed the traveling press "The Bored on the Bus." "The new crop of reporters," said McDougal, "are what I call the young statemen of journalism: earnest Harvard graduates who sip white wine occasionally, are in bed—alone—by 11, and take baby pictures of the bus."

Meanwhile, the lessons of the media—and occasionally—campaigning that the reporters covered will not be fully known until after election day.



McDougal: fundamental differences and a widespread obsession with guns

Kim Doyle

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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President and

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August 28, 1988

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Karen

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LETTERS

ENDURING HEROES

By the time the Oct. 3 issue of *Maclean's* hit my mailbox, your cover-story hero, Ben Johnston ("The King of Soul," *Cover*), had solidly become an established sensation of a very different sort. Margaret Atwood—reprinted in a corner of the cover and to the back pages of the magazine—was also listed in the issue as an international celebrity ("Atwood's Triumph," *Publishing Special Report*). One week later, the magazine came, she went, and she will undoubtedly remain one. The enduring nature of the world acclaim that Canada receives from its outstanding artists should be given serious consideration by those who oppose their public funding.

Mary Walters Kishin,
Edmonton

Show us you. Your report on "Canadian" publishing ("Rights of Immigration," *Publishing Oct. 3*) mentioned not a single mention of a francophone author. The Quebec or Acadian literary scene or added anything's back writing in Canada's other official language. Such Toronto omissions.

Churim Margit,
Riverside, Que.

SHIFTING PRACTICES

Your article on the rise in unreported accidents of child abuse ("A letter new issue," *Justice Oct. 3*) fails to address the most significant shift in prevailing practices in history: the participation of an increasing number of fathers in nurturing and child care, which has generated an unprecedented bonding between men and children. In North America, a child-centred male continues to guarantee happiness by his divergence from masculine norms.

David Nordman,
Victoria

A ROCK IN THE SHINS

If Ed Broadbent and John Turner are "incongruous," then Diane Preston is a Polypass ("The Saskatchewan curbing factor," *Column Oct. 16*). What Preston does not state is that the Saskatchewan factor in this country is in a state of conscious motion. Many of the programs and social ideals that, considered from this province, are either threatened or suffering from being engulfed. Free trade is going to put ever-increasing pressure on Canadians to harmonize our social and economic values with those of the United States. If we think the tide is going to swing the other way, how about our progress in local issues and other issues? The best way to influence our American cousins is to deliver a royal look in the show, using this election as the



Atwood with daughter world acclaim

vehicle, to let them know that there are certain values we hold dear and that we are not about to buy a free trade pig in a poke.

Robert Dillard,
Preston, B.C.

Show Preston's statement that we who worry about Canada's social programs under fire

trade are ignorant begs the saying "It takes one to know one." It sounds pretty ignorant to imply that the United States cannot get good social programs going unless we send our precious resources to them under a free trade agreement. If the wealthy United States were to misbehave in the health and education of its people, it would have adopted our social system a long time ago.

Marilyn Deschêre,
Las Le Biche, Alta

FOOTING THE BILL

Regarding "A mauler for the best" (*Open-Range News, Oct. 10*), what a sorry state poor British Columbia is in. We are having to pay \$127,000 per year to have Premier Vander Zanden's foot taken out of his mouth.

Linda Arath,
Richmond

JADED OPINIONS

What on earth is wrong with Trent Frayne ("The horns of mauler," *Sports Oct. 13*)? He didn't even see the 1984 football season, he could not have been watching very closely.

PASSAGES

RECOVERING: Joe Philken, 15, who suffered third-degree burns to over 90 per cent of his body when his home caught fire, at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, after more than seven months in intensive care at the Shriners Burns Institute in Boston. On March 20, 1984, the Philken home in Cambridge Beach, Ont., 80 km north of Toronto, was set afire by a spark from the living room fireplace early in the morning. After surviving his 30-year-old brother, Dewey, Joe was burned while swimming for his mother. Doctors—who say that Joe's survival is due largely to his will to live—have, in 47 operations, covered about 80 per cent of his body with skin grafts taken from the top of his head. However, he requires more skin grafts and remains in isolation to guard against potentially fatal infections.

APPOINTED: Julia Blandorick, 42, is editor of Canada's largest circulation newspaper, *The Toronto Star*. Toronto-born Blandorick, who has been the *Star's* editorial page editor since 1987, worked as Ottawa bureau chief, Washington correspondent and bureau editor upon joining the newspaper in 1970. Her appointment was announced by David Jolley, who, on Oct. 1, became publisher of the *Star*, replacing retiring Roland Blandorick, Julia's father, who had been publisher since 1966.

AWARDED: The Booker Prize, Britain's top literary tribute, to Australian Peter Carey, 45, for his second love story, *Oranges and Lemons*.

DIED: Popular romance novelist Cynthia Freeman, 73, of cancer in hospital near her home in San Francisco.

APPOINTED: Anne, the Princess Royal, 35, to the Royal Newfoundland Regiment as colonel-in-chief. The 600-member regiment, formerly known as the New-foundland Regiment, was almost wiped out at the First World War Battle of the Somme.

DIED: Lighthelm (Gipsy) Emma, 85, former owner of several junior hockey teams and the man who helped Bobby Orr negotiate his first NHL contract: of competitive heart failure in a Niagara Falls, Ont., hospital. Emma, who nurtured young hockey players for more than two decades, also played in the NHL from 1938 to 1935.

APPOINTED: Artistic director of Britain's Chichester Festival, Robert Phillips, 46, who from 1974 to 1980 was artistic director of Ontario's Stratford Festival, returns Oct. 1, 1984.

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Major-league games drew a record number of spectators, though the fact there was only one really close division race. In that one, one Blue Jay had a great September and ended up only two games behind the winners from Boston. I'm glad I followed it myself and don't have to rely on the opinions of a paid columnist.

Don Zwick,
Tanderton, N.Y.

RECOGNIZING ABUSE

Regarding Barbara Ansel's "Give and Take Is a Relationship?" (Column, Oct. 27), I have never had my car's life threatened, I have never been "spanked with a closed fist" (sounds like a punch to me). That does not mean I cannot recognize abusive behavior in my law practice. I have experienced numerous harassed women and abused children. The next time I interview a woman with a black eye or a broken arm, I will remember to say, "You will share more decency if you just leave him rather than press charges." Ansel could have shown more decency before writing such an ill-informed column.

Maureen Rios,
Goderich, Ont.

In a relationship, when it comes to violence by the husband, aggravated by alcoholism, it is called wife abuse. The old "give and take" cliché does not apply here. In Shirley Lawson's case, walking out accomplished nothing in bringing him to his senses. He obviously needs a stronger signal. I agree with Tereasa Siderova's approach and do not take away any points from her divorce court.

Judith Jethin,
Don Mills, Ont.

I did not think there were any good columnists left in Canada, particularly women. But for the first time in a major Canadian publication, I have read a different and more enlightening perspective on the Inwood case. It seems Barbara Ansel's column is not from a traditional feminist point of view but from a more human perspective. As a university scientist, I hope this my perspective will not be as stereotyped in years to our personal relationships.

Anne Prud'homme,
Windsor, Ont.

'RUINED BY FACTS'

I am one of the many who, as Allan Fotheringham cautions in your Oct. 27 issue ("A brief history of misapplied youth," Column), has written for *The Observer* but while Fotheringham has quite rightly pointed out a campaign paper, he is recognizing something British Columbia does not have a journalism school. Vancouver Community College, Langara Campus, has an excellent two-year program and an accel-

erated program for those with a bachelor's degree. Once again, it seems, Fotheringham is disturbing letters to make his column a little more interesting. As one of my Langara professors would say, "Well, that's another good story ruined by facts."

Gregory Koro,
Toronto

I was pleased that artist per excellence Ray Peterson illustrated my Inwood article, Allan Fotheringham, columnist Herko Clock at Georgia and Granville streets in Vancouver during the 1980s. Obviously, Peterson knows

more than Fotheringham cares to admit in his recent article on *The Observer*. I could not help wondering why Fotheringham was drawn to such a well-dressed fashion, wearing shoes, pants, rinceout and chain, when West Coast Inwood has it that our young journalists was in fact clad as a great deal less when he became a victim of his friends' head of West Coast Inwood.

Robert Chown,
Camos, B.C.

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OPENING NOTES

Mila Mulrony goes power walking, Jane Fonda takes a tumble, Wayne Gretzky scores in his neighborhood

POLITICAL EXERCISES

Mila Mulrony is a woman who values her privacy—especially while she is working to preserve her figure. During the federal election campaign, the wife of the Prime Minister has arranged most evenings from her hotel room wearing a track suit, sweat pants and sunglasses. Despite that disguise, Mulrony cannot conceal the distinctive gait of the power walker. Still jogging, still walking, she swings her fists in front of her chest and moves her hips lightly from side to side in a grunting 40-minute workout. Later in the evening, she joins her husband, Brian, for a 30-minute stroll before bedtime, not leader Edward Broadbent and his wife, Lucille, who try to keep fit by taking a slightly dip in their hotel pool. Gail Turner, on the other hand, is on her own when it comes to exercise. According to Liberal officials, the senator has worked out behind the drawn curtains of her hotel room. Due to recent back problems, Opposition leader John Turner is avoiding exercise. For the moment, his main activity is the stressful pursuit of power.

The Mulroneys: a distinctive physical gait



Photo: J. G. Goss

A falling star delays filming

At 58, Jane Fonda is as fit as a fiddle for her figure as she is for her acting ability. More than five million copies of the Oscar winner's aerobics video, including Workout and the recently released Step Up, have been sold worldwide. But her personal health, the self-admitted fitness addict has recently added (going to her exercise routine. During a two-month stay in Toronto, where she was filming *Levi's*, a love story costarring Robert De Niro, Fonda incorporated evening workouts on a 10-speed rowing machine on one rowing down Queen Street East, the actress failed to increase a fundamental principle of fitness, cardio. After colliding head-on with another cyclist, Fonda was left with a fractured nose.

For three days, the actor's producers were forced to delay filming until the swelling went



Fonda: Toronto coldness course

Photo: J. G. Goss

down. For Fonda, who flew to Hanoi in 1972 to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the experience was clearly scarring. She refused to get back on her bicycle before leaving the city last week. Cold power was a worthy posing job.

A MESSAGE TO BUTT OUT

At 64, Deng Xiaoping likes to boast that he enjoys a drink, still has an eye for a pretty woman and chin-smokes *Panda Brand* cigarettes. But the Beijing-based newspaper *Health* and *Huaren* recently published an account and short criticism of the Chinese leader's personal habits. Zheng Jinxian, a polemicist in northern China, accused Deng of setting a bad example by constantly smoking in public—thereby discouraging China's 250 million smokers from quitting. Deng's meagre reputation was in danger of going up in smoke.

SCORING OFF THE ICE

A most hockey fan associated, Wayne Gretzky has proven himself a winner for his new team, the Los Angeles Kings. But Gretzky's victory have not been unblemished in the ice. Last month, he blocked a hockey fan's plan to erect a house near his fellow American residence in the leafy suburb of Encino. Gretzky and his wife, actress Janet Jones, recently paid \$3 million for a four-bedroom house on a 1.7-acre site. Developer Viron Stone, who owns the property next door, wanted to build a two- and a half off half the lot. But Robert Glushko, the lawyer who acted for Gretzky at a recent hearing, argued successfully that Stone's proposal violated a by-law prohibiting lots smaller than one acre.



The Gretzkys: a hockey fan holds no grudges

Photo: J. G. Goss

Stone, a longtime arena racket holder, claims that he holds no grudge against the King's superstar. He is only one of many to have been accidentally out of the action by The Great One.



Glushko: a spare heater at his feet

Photo: J. G. Goss

The promise of music

For five decades, it was considered Toronto's finest concert hall. Then, in 1977, the Eaton Auditorium closed for renovations. The acoustics in the 1,000-seat theatre were so superior that for several years Canadian pianist Glenn Gould continued to practice there, with an overcoat draped across his shoulders and a spare heater at his feet. But for 11 years, the theatre remained closed to the public while its owners, Toronto College Park Centre Ltd., and the City of Toronto argued over who was responsible for the restoration. Meanwhile, many music lovers feared that the art deco theatre would be converted to office space. Then, last week, *Maclean's* learned that the Eaton Auditorium will have a new lease on life. According to Thomas Greer, a civic representative on a committee assessing the theatre's future, the seven-month hall will be refurbished through private and public funding. Greer would not reveal when the work would begin, and the committee's final report will be released only early next year. A newly elected city council will still have to scrutinize the recommendations as a report that was commissioned by Mayor Art Eggleton. Decree that the hall be turned to a second place that the hall will be filled again with the sound of music.

Smoking on the campaign trail

Reporters following Prime Minister Brian Mulrony on the campaign trail have the choice of travelling in one of two vehicles. The usual one's option, the so-called *Quiche Bus*, is a new of professionalism. According to one reporter, fewer than 10 bottles of beer had been consumed as heard during the first month of the campaign. By comparison, the atmosphere on the "Piss Bus" is raucous. But the air is so dense with smoke that some tobacco users have transferred to the clean air of the nonsmoking *Quiche Bus*, preferring a switch to a fight.

NEWSROOM WITH A VIEW

Reporters of The London Free Press held a brief work last week as the newspaper prepared to put up its third appearance. The independent daily, which has been published by the Western Weekly since 1923, will launch an extensive redesign this week. The new layout will feature shorter stories, more color, charts and diagrams—a style pioneered by the *Notre-Dame* this Sunday. Last Friday, the change was mourned by eight reporters. The newly expanded graphics department will displace them in Altonville—a prized location near the only window in the newsroom. As a flag show of goodwill, reporters wearing black armbands played the Last Post on kazooes. Tough guys have feelings, too.

HIGH DRAMA IN THE COURT

Last June, a modern-day *Spencer* named Marrette was charged with criminal mischief for drinking the cross and the sets of vandalism. But early in August, lack of criminal precedent prevented the judge from granting the cross as punishment. As for the other charges, on Nov. 2, Hene Marrette, 26, will appear in Quebec provincial court—with Robert Levesque, in his lawyer, Levesque has co-accused in drinking unconventional punishment. In the 1970s, he represented several members of the Front de libération du Québec.



Marrette: feat

Photo: J. G. Goss

CRISIS LOOMS.



As the new Maclean's hit the streets, with its new design, in-depth coverage, new features and more color, little hope was held for those getting a late jump on buying one.

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COLUMN



Business as usual in the greed game

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The anonymous letter from South America arrived at the New York City office of Merrill Lynch & Co. in May, 1985. The big brokerage house turned it over to the Washington office of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) the next month. It was lavishly typewritten, contained mistakes in both spelling and syntax and was apparently written by someone for whom English was a second language. But it contained information that eventually unfolded as a sinister trading ring of Wall Street lightshades and their accomplices that still makes its way through U.S. courts. Now, despite numerous and paid for a handful of copies, the huge scandal does not appear to have proven to be either a deterrent or a punishment. Instead, the issues to be learned from America's insider trading affair is that greed is still not a dirty word and crime certainly pays.

The infamous South American letter listed details of the existence of a \$13.9-million Delaware bank account held by one Dennis Levine, 360 Street warehouse on the mergers and acquisitions specialist at prestigious brokerage giant Donald Burstein Leontis Inc. Advertisers quickly from the bank account, then turned Levine in May, 1986, and the next morning Levine noted an accurate forecast. Two weeks, who, in turn, noted on others Bosley has presumably helped to make a case against Drexel's junk bond king and major shareholder, Michael Milken, and the firm itself. Milken and others were charged in September with violations of securities laws.

Insider trading is deplorable. It is a crime that gives a few stock market players an enormous advantage over the millions of others in their process—such as pension and mutual funds—in the market. It is not merely a crime today, it is the financial equivalent of being a rascal. Conspicuous from the Company A is going to make a shrewd takeover bid for Company B, causing a huge increase in stock price. That means that they can make a killing by buying Company B stock before it

Insider trading is not merely horse race touting. It is the financial equivalent of fixing a race

shoots up. It is theft on a massive scale.

But because there are no bloodstains or dead bodies, it is regarded as less of a victimless crime. That is valid. The victims in the investing public, individually or institutionally, weapons are telephones, Telexes and fax machines, and the potential booty can easily be larger in a matter of minutes than a would-be bank robber can year to year. Society's failure to regard insider trading as seriously as violent crime is another symptom, along with the crime itself, of our increasingly shallow and greedy times.

Levine in fact has been turned loose on a stock scam more, from 17 months in a Pennsylvania prison camp and a spurious halfway house of New York City's Times Square. Based from imprisonment anywhere there is no financial information for obvious reasons, he was on a pleasant enough work-furlough program that allowed visits to his home. His two-year sentence was shockingly light. True, he has achieved notoriety and had to defend his dignity, but he seems to be coping. According to a number of accounts, he looks brighter than ever and well-served.

Seriously his lucky increase from Bosley has had as many stretches. In November, 1986,

Bosley agreed to pay the U.S. government a \$100-million penalty and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on a single felony count of conspiring to lie to the SEC. He is widely expected to testify against some of the others whom he has handled over on a platter, and may be a main witness against Milken. The relative lightness of his sentence is probably very wise, as a plea bargain and a way to get him to help prosecute others.

While he waits for his turn to testify, Bosley is doing his time in the country club surroundings of Longport, Indiana, prison, a few security guards, 270 km northwest of Los Angeles. Completely with Bosley's tennis courts, a grill counter, fully equipped gymnasium and bellied room, Leontis is like a picturesque home for academics. Boston food and lots of supermeals. Probably Bosley's worst punishment is the fact that he must attend at his regular table at Manhattan's 21 Club to eat out from his company.

Meanwhile, Milken and Donald Burstein got up for a little royal over their securities fraud charges. Milken, a 43-year-old workaholic and who led, still owns a considerable portion of the firm's stock, but only comes in three or four days a week to look after his affairs. He has also devoted himself to good works and recently was publicized donating 1,000 shares to a day in the country. "It's enough to make you throw up," commented a Drexel colleague.

A lawsuit made the company told me that Drexel has already spent the estimated sum of \$200 million, a legal loss, preparing a defense. It also has a reported trust fund of \$1.5 billion set aside just in case a fine is imposed. Meanwhile, the junk bond business and its excitement tolerance game continue to be slow prosperity in Milken and Drexel despite its negative publicity. That is due to the firm's strategy of taking prices of the action. The leverage is unique in that it costs huge chunks of annual hundred company expenditures. That means these companies as before clients and Drexel's partners as distant advisors in the most important takeovers and transactions in the United States.

Many lawyers say that criminal prosecutors are trying to get together racketeering charges against Milken and Donald Burstein. But if they do, they will have to deal with a double-edged sword. Meanwhile, Milken whose net worth of \$400 million already was the gross annual profit of some Third World nations, could become much richer.

Unfortunately, despite huge financial penalties in the form of legal fines, the defendants have not received sufficient punishment. And the evidence for that is the fact that violations have not been deterred. One depressing study recently released by the New York Stock Exchange shows that the huge increases in volume and prices that always accompanied hostile takeovers due to insider trading have stopped for just two months immediately after Bosley's conviction on December, 1987. They resumed. Obviously, it is business as usual with the kind of cheating that made Bosley fabulously rich and that also made, and obviously still makes, the greed game go around.



PLAYING TO WIN

THE DISCIPLINED TORY CAMPAIGN MACHINE FACES NEW CHALLENGES FROM A REVIVED LIBERAL PARTY



The next federal election was deemed two years away, but there was already a sense of urgency among the 80 senior Conservatives who gathered in the banquet hall of Ottawa's Chateau Laurier Hotel. Demanded by the party's discipline standing in the public opinion polls, the Tories watched attentively while Senator Norman Atkins used a slide projector to map out details of the party's bid for a second term. From that low-key beginning in December, 1986, Atkins assembled the organization that now forms the core of the Tory campaign machine—an efficient, highly disciplined operation that is the envy of both the Liberals and the New Democratic Party. Said Senator Norman Atkins, Liberal campaign co-chairman: "There is certainly a lot of muscle in the Tory organization." Added one organizer, Brian Seave: "I would give the Tories high marks for their technological resources and the scale of their resources. There is nothing we can do about that—they are rich and we are not."

Clearly, the Tories do have a financial advantage over their opponents: they plan to spend up to the legal limit of \$8 million during the 51-day campaign, compared with about \$9.5 million for the Liberals and \$6 million for the NDP. And the party's successful fund-raising operation is only one component of the Tories' campaign machine. They also have some of the best political organizers in Canada, daily phone polls to keep track of the latest shifts in national mood and a computer-oriented direct mail program that enables the party to target undecided voters as up to 30 swing constituencies. In the wake of last week's two televised leaders' debates—widely seen as having costed Liberal leader John Turner's campaign—even the Tories acknowledged that their state-of-



Macrop on the campaign trail: cautioned to avoid off-the-cuff remarks

the-art organization may not be enough to guarantee another majority government for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (page 14). But few doubt that if he gives the party an important edge over its two rivals. "As much as anything else, the Tories are disciplined," said George Perlin, a political journalist at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "They know how to contain themselves to a plan and then follow it through."

In fact, the Tories assisted last week that

Turner's cost-effective performance in the debates would not divert them from mulling as the government's strong economic record. Declared Margery Livingston, the Tory campaign's executive director: "Our party is always intense, but when you go through rougher waters, a good organization can carry you." The Tories were also mulling an aggressive new series of radio and TV ads to counter the opposition's stepped-up attacks on the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. One approach now being

considered is to spotlight the current Tory free-trade team, contrasting it by implication with the possible composition of a future Liberal cabinet. Said Atkins, the party's campaign chairman: "We think we have a strong effect."

The best the Liberals can do is to talk about reorganizing defeated Liberal ministers. According to some Tories, Atkins himself is one of the Mulroney campaign's greatest assets. The stocky, 54-year-old scarier has labored for the party through 36 federal and provincial elections, starting with the successful 1952 Tory campaign in New Brunswick. In 1971, he took over as senior personal adviser to Ontario Premier William Davis, constructing a dynamic political organization that became known as the Big Blue Machine because of its systematic approach to planning and managing a campaign. Led by a small group of professional organizers and consultants, the machine combined moderate political policies with intense jelling and the latest techniques of mass marketing.

Despite Mulroney's Quebec roots, one of his first acts after capturing the Tory leadership in 1983 was to sign up Atkins for the federal party. At first, some longtime Mulroney supporters resented Atkins's presence at Tory headquarters in Ottawa, regarding him as a technocrat who lacked an innate understanding of Quebec. But the party's stunning victory in the 1984 general election was Atkins the respect of Mulroney's lapdogs—although not necessarily their adoration. Mulroney says that although relations between Mulroney and Atkins are cordial, the two are not close friends. Said one senior Tory: "There is no personal rapport between them."

Late Atkins, most of the other key players in the Tory machine are veterans of previous federal and Ontario campaigns. They include operations director Henry Neve, advertising director Thomas Scott, top manager John Tory and pollster Allan Grigg, president of Toronto-based Decima Research Ltd. In addition, Atkins director Senator Lowell Murray was chairman of the Tory campaign in the 1978 election, while LeBlanc has worked as federal campaign since being head by Prime

Minister John Diefenbaker in 1962. Said Perlin: "The continuity of personnel in the Tory organization is very important. It gives them a lot of depth."

By contrast, Turner is surrounded by the most part by enthusiastic but relatively inexperienced players. Grisham, 59, is by far the most seasoned strategist, having been involved in federal and provincial campaigns since 1958. But two other key advisers—campaign manager John Weiler, 31, and chief director Douglas Kirkpatrick, 32—have no previous federal experience. Both also worked on Ontario Premier David Peterson's successful 1987 campaign. Said Grisham: "In the 1970s, we took an awful lot of things for granted because everything was built around [Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau. When he left in 1984 we had to rebuild from the ground up, and until recently we suffered the consequences." The NDP team, meanwhile, includes such veterans as campaign director William Knight, a Saskatchewan MP from 1971 to 1978, and deputy director Robin Sears, a former senior federal secretary.

Over the past two years, the Tories have faced their 1984 campaign machine. Said Neve: "We have learned from our mistakes, particularly on the technological side. The electronic mail system and the use of facsimile machines are better." By March, 1987, Atkins had assigned experience in each province to oversee the leader's tour, policy formulation, communications and fund-raising. From then on, he and about 10 other key strategists—including Neve, LeBlanc and party president William Jarvis—met weekly in Ottawa to review their efforts. Said Neve: "Running a campaign is like piloting a big ocean liner. It takes time just to get a meeting in the night direction."

Perhaps the most important stage in the Tory preparations was the development of the campaign theme. Polls by Decima in late 1986 and early 1987 showed that, in contrast to 1984, most Canadians were not overly worried about unemployment and the state of the economy. But Grigg said that his market research revealed a widespread perception among voters that

Canada would have to adapt rapidly to changing circumstances, including technological advances and increased competition for world trade.

Grigg and Atkins decided to capitalize on that concern by portraying the Tories as the party best able to manage economic change in the future. Said Grigg, who led the approach with several key focus groups of voters last February: "The idea was to suggest that Canada struck a reasonable and credible chord with the public. It allowed us to

Canada Notes

PASSAGE FROM INDIA

One year after Punjab police arrested and detained him without charge, Canadian Sikh leader Gurmehar Singh said that he was "inched" during his imprisonment—was "suddenly released and has returned to his Khanda, Ont. home. Canada had initially protested his treatment."

MISSING MANITOBA MILLS

The Manitoba legislature shut down for a day, when only eight of 57 members turned up in the chamber. Ten MLAs are reported to be on leave.

A VERY FINITE POST

Windsor became the first capital city in Canada with a provisioned postal service. Canada Post's downtown courier service operations were taken over by a local private business.

SAVE SEX AND SAVINITY

Albany's 80 Savings grocery stores will not carry the November issue of *Play*, a U.S. men's magazine, because each copy contains a coupon attached to an article about safe sex. About 9,000 U.S. stores have also refused to sell the issue, but *Salvo*, which sells subscriptions, was the first Canadian retailer to ban it.

SALES TAX ESTIMATES

Ontario Treasurer Robert Nixon predicted that Canadians will pay an additional \$14 billion each year in sales taxes if the Conservatives implement their plan for a national sales tax. He added that about 60 per cent of the additional revenue will come from Ontario.

CABINET RESIGNATION

Timothy Green resigned as Premier Edward Clark's agriculture minister, saying that he wanted to spend more time with his young family but will keep his seat as Liberal backbencher. Premier Joseph Ghis took over the key portfolio.

RETURN OF A TOXIN

The deadly toxin that led to last year's East Coast mollusk loss has resurfaced in two rivers in Prince Edward Island. Officials closed both rivers to fishermen but said that no shellfish had been harvested there recently.

PRIVACY AND THE LAW

Legislation giving banks access to customers' social insurance numbers (see *Canadians' right to privacy*, according to Alan Landau, a director of the federal privacy commission. The law provides for fines of up to \$150 for anyone refusing to provide his name.

Atkins (left) and Neve: veterans of previous campaigns



play in our strength." On the campaign trail Mulroney repeatedly emphasizes that message. Visiting a factory in Georgetown Ont., at the start of his campaign on Oct. 3, he told workers that supporters of the free trade agreement shared "a vision about Canada's future in accord with some strategic vision of the past." The solid date the election on Nov. 21 will be between "managing change in our advantage or retreating into a past that never was."

Recently, senior Tories acknowledge that the party's biggest hurdle heading into the campaign was Mulroney's low personal approval rating, especially on the key issues of trust and credibility. As a result, the party's strategists decided not to issue a long list of promises during the campaign. As one senior advisor put it, "The problem is that a lot of voters do not necessarily believe every word that the Prime Minister says, so the impact of his promises might be negligible." Instead, Mulroney concentrated Mulroney to announce a series of new government spending programs during the months leading up to the election. In all, Ottawa poured an estimated \$5 billion into new projects, food and shelter programs. "The great advantage of being in government is that the Prime Minister can say, 'This is what we will do. It is funded and I am pressing the button'."

During the campaign, the party has tried to deflect criticism about Mulroney's credibility by emphasizing instead the government's rec-

ord. The Prime Minister's handlers reportedly caution him to keep to the facts of his speeches and avoid off-the-cuff remarks and unexpected encounters with the media. A former Toryer, who now works for the party in Toronto, told Mulroney's that Mulroney has consciously followed the carefully controlled approach used by Devine in his successful 1981 Ontario election campaign. "Don't give Mulroney ad-



Gauthier left; Tory no protection from unforeseen problems

vice as how to get re-elected as far back as 1984," he added. "Devine's style was on facts, no fluff, just competence—reflective of what voters in Ontario wanted."

Another technique borrowed from Devine's 1980 campaign, and first used by the federal party in 1984, involves the use of detailed polling at the local level to track voters in swing ridings. According to Ledwith, the party has

acknowledged that the case could hurt the Tory campaign. Moreover, the Tory organization has established a model that the other parties will likely follow in federal elections of future years.

ROSE LAYNE and HILARY MCKENZIE
with NEAL CLARK in Ottawa and
TAMARA TEDESCO on the Mulroney tour

AN ELECTION TURNING POINT

The third day of personal maneuvering and the fray of the exchange between Brian Mulroney and John Turner made it a momentous moment of political theater. For nearly two electrifying minutes during last Tuesday's English-language TV debate, the two men attacked each other under the scrutiny of the Canada-45 live trade agreement and its potential effect on Canadian sovereignty. Neither argument was conclusive, but the polls quickly showed that most Canadians believed Mulroney was the winner from the two televised leaders' debate. That confrontation—the most dramatic of many tough exchanges during the six hours of debate among the three party leaders—may be remembered as the event that transferred Turner from a moderate leader into a credible alternative to Mulroney.

It could also mark the moment when a widely anticipated Tory landslide dissolved into a tough election fight. Mulroney-based pollster Michael Adams, "Like everyone else, I thought the election had been decided. But there is a surprising degree of volatility among voters. Turner almost single-handedly has managed to turn that election so far into a close race."

In fact, Adams and his Economics Research Group Ltd. concluded that 48 per cent of Canadians believed that Turner won the debate, compared to 39 per cent for Mulroney and 11 per cent for NDP leader Edward Broadbent, whose anti-free-trade position paled beside Turner's fearless attack. "There is a dramatic behavior change in voters," Adams' person," noted a closely eyed Broadbent later in the week. "That there will now be a general battle for winning the election in a way that there wasn't before the debate."

Turner's campaign got a further boost at work and from a quick poll taken by Vancouver-based Angus Reid Associates Inc. following the debate, which showed that the Lib-

eral and the Conservatives were tied with 35 per cent of the decided voters' support. The NDP won at 20 per cent.

Liberal leaders were clearly elated by Turner's performance in the debate. Indeed, Mulroney's has learned that party strategists have decided to change their advertising campaign to feature Turner—previous ads largely ignored him. Sen. Quebec, ex-minister Guy S. Smith, "Finally, Liberal as we've seen Canada has had down their pants against one another." The most visible signs of early vote campaign appearances in Ottawa and Montreal by former leadership rival Jean Charest, who praised Turner's performance. But Turner added and that there was nothing surprising about the raw nerves. Said group's secretary Peter Connolly: "Turner was finally able to show Canadians what he was made of, without having to go through the media filter."

BRUCE MULLAINE with
GAIL NEW KENAN on Mulroney's campaign

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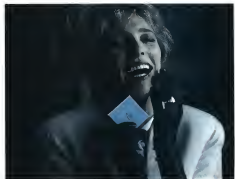
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The race for the stars

The parties' quest for celebrity candidates



In the months leading up to the 1988 general election the increasingly unpopular minority Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester Pearson faced a crisis. Confronted by seething nationalist sentiment in Quebec, where the provincial election had been tarnished by a series of scandals, the Liberals embarked on a time-honoured course—they recruited some well-known personalities to run as federal candidates. Three of them, University of Montreal law professor Pierre Trudeau, Liberal leader Jean Marchand and La Presse editor Gérard Pelletier, quickly came to be known as Quebec's "trois men."

Although the Liberals failed to win a majority in this election, their three star candidates attracted considerable attention, won election and helped to at least preserve a minority Liberal government. This year, all three major parties managed to recruit some men and women whose reputations and previous achievements have attracted attention during the campaign for the Nov. 21 election.

One of the most notable new candidates is Massimo McTear, wife of External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, running for the Conservatives in the new Ontario region riding of Carleton-Galloway. Others include Liberal Paul Martin Jr., Quebec businessman and son of former cabinet minister Paul Martin, and David Barrett, former partner of British Columbia, who is running for the New Democratic Party. And for all three parties, star candidates are clearly part of a successful strategy. "Parties need star candidates because they adduce a presumed reputation and ability to win. You graciously do not find a lot of star candidates in a party that is not expected to win."

Indeed, with the polls earlier this year showing a new party in a dominant position, all of them, and particularly the troubled Liberals, had some difficulties in their quest to attract celebrities. For their part, Tory engineers say that star outsiders are not critical to their campaign strategy because, with 169 accom-

panied running agents, less than one-half of the party's 295 candidates are newcomers. Still, the Tories did try—and failed—to convince some well-known people to run, including former Ontario attorney general and London high commissioner Roy McMartin. However, television host Jack Webster, former World Cup skier Ken Read (who was also unsuccessfully courted by the Liberals), former Winnipeg Blue Bomber Joe Poplawski and wheelchair athlete Rick Hansen.

But the Conservatives also have had some success in addition to McTear. Glenn Turner, for one, who has established a profile locally as a business columnist at *The Star* and

though and expensive recreation centre, which featured Overland jump lands and glowy campaign videos against two challengers' wedding bouquet photographer Nancy Jackson and Toronto financier Douglas McCutcheon. And having won the nomination, he now faces another big fight at the campaign. His main opponent is Liberal William Graham, a popular and respected University of Toronto law professor who ran unsuccessfully for the party in the 1984 election. Meanwhile, if McTear wins at her riding, she and Clark will become the first husband-and-wife team to sit together in Canada's Parliament.

The Liberals focused their search for stars on Western Canada and Quebec—two areas where the party appears to be in trouble. Among those who were approached by party officials but declined to run were David Johnston, principal of Montreal's McGill University, Patricia Fox, former Trudeau cabinet secretary and partner of the party's Quebec wing, Michel Robit, a Montreal lawyer and Liberal party president, Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein,



Barrett: the renowned pianist uses concert appearances to promote the NDP on the campaign trail

Sae, is the Tory candidate in Halton-Peel, northwest of the city. And David MacDonald, former ambassador to Ethiopia and a member of Clark's 1979-1980 cabinet, is running in Toronto's Rosedale. Of the three, the Tory party seems closest to MacDonald, 52, most notably because Rosedale has been held by Secretary of State David Crombie, a moderate Tory who resigned in June to head a royal commission on the use of Toronto's waterfront lands. Party officials said that MacDonald—a progressive who served in Clark's secretary of state and minister of communications—could appeal to the middle- and lower-middle-income groups that dominate the riding.

Still, the Prince Edward Island native faced

former Trudeau cabinet minister Otto Lang of Winnipeg and British Columbia's Joe Campbell, former party president. As well, Maude Barlow and Patrick Johnston, two policy advisors who were handpicked by Liberal leader John Turner to run in Ottawa and Toronto, were defeated in nomination meetings this summer.

But the party's successes, besides Martin, include Frank Stronach, co-founder and former chief executive officer of the Ottawa-based auto parts manufacturer, Wayne International Inc. and Ralph Goodale, who resigned as leader of the Saskatchewan Liberal party to run federally. Martin, 50, chairman of the CEA, shopping conglomerate, was acclaimed in the

Ron CARIOCA

A TASTE OF THE ISLANDS.

Montreal riding of LaSalle-Elliott in May. But many observers say that he is unlikely to lead a Liberal resurgence in his province, because he is relatively unknown in grassroots Quebec. Indeed, he faces a tough challenge to unseat incumbent Tony to Claude Landry. And relations between Martin and Turner are coolly largely because of Martin's heavily concealed leadership aspirations.

Sroufe's candidacy in the Toronto-region York-Simcoe riding, meanwhile, has attracted considerable attention—partly because the 55-year-old businessman has not had a long association with the Liberals. In fact, Sroufe's previously had close ties with the Conservatives. In 1986, he actively supported McMurtry in his race for the Ontario Tory party leadership. In 1989, Sroufe was a witness before the Pearson commission investigating conflict-of-interest charges against former Tory treasury minister Sinclair Stevens. It was revealed that Sroufe's business associate Anton Cukula provided a loan to Stevens's wife, Norma, and that Sroufe received several subsidies from Stevens's ministry. The inquiry found Stevens guilty of 14 instances of conflict of interest, but the former minister in appealing that decision. Ironically, Sroufe was to have gone head to head against Stevens in York-Simcoe, but the disgraced former minister withdrew from the race on Oct. 8 after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney refused to sign his nomination papers.

The New Democrats also started with an ambitious plan to recruit star candidates. Party organizers talked openly of fielding what strategists described as a "dream team" to run

single-shot popular NDP leader Edward Broadbent. The hoped-for candidates included three former premiers—Barnett, Allan Rock and Bob Rae—and former Liberal cabinet members and former NDP members of Parliament. But the dream team did not materialize.



Mr. Clark is not to join her husband, Joe Clark, in Parliament

in—only Proulx and Barrett decided to run. Still, the NDP is looking another prominent celebrity, renowned concert pianist Anna Klavir, who is running in Toronto's Don Valley North riding. Klavir is rising his concert appearances across the country to promote other NDP candidates.

Barrett, 58, resigned as leader of the British Columbia NDP in 1984 after serving as premier from 1972 to 1975—when he was defeated by William Bennett's Social Credit party. Barrett

stayed in the public eye in part of an operating radio show in Vancouver, and was a starting fellow at Harvard University's school of government and a visiting scholar in Canadian studies at McGill University. But he says that his opposition to the Conservatives' free trade agreement brought him back to politics at the federal level. Declined Barrett: "The deal is an abandonment of a position that was once held, even by right wingers, that this country had a right to shape its own destiny." Many political observers expect Barrett to win easily in Vancouver Island's new Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca riding. But Proulx, who expressed his interest in running for a federal seat when he was named as Manitoba's new leader in March, is involved in an extremely tight race in the Winnipeg-area Selkirk riding.

But it is still unclear just how much the star candidates will affect the outcome of the election, particularly after a campaign dominated by a single theme—the free trade agreement. Stud Desmond Martin, professor of history at the University of Toronto and former assistant provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP: "On Nov. 21, people will vote for whatever prize minister and party platform they want." But as each party's favored quest for high-profile candidates has demonstrated, many strategists clearly believe that a star-studded campaign team can make a difference on election day.

PAUL KAMLEA and JON FORDYCE are in Toronto. LISA ANN DOWSE is in Montreal and MARC CLARKE, JULIA MCKENZIE and THERESA TRESCOW are in Ottawa.

THE RUNNERS IN THE RACE

On Oct. 24, at the close of nominations for the November federal election, there were 1,577 candidates just to battle for the expected 295-seat House of Commons. The Progressives, Conservatives, Liberals and New Democrats all fielded candidates in every riding, although Liberal Reforman Peterborough dropped out of the race in Toronto's Etobicoke-Lakeshore two days later apparently as a result of a heart attack. As well, two former party candidates dropped out within a week of filing nomination papers. In addition to the three major parties' 554 remaining candidates, there are 996 Canadians running for smaller parties or as independents.

Voters in Ontario's 39 ridings are choosing from a total of 513 candidates. Quebec has 368 candidates in its 75 ridings, British Columbia has 329 in 32, Alberta, 187 in 20,

Manitoba, 86 in 14, Saskatchewan, 57 in 14, New Scotia, 48 in 11, New Brunswick, 43 in 10, Newfoundland, 29 in seven, Prince Edward Island, 24 in four, the Northwest Territories, none in two, and the Yukon has four candidates in its one riding. But even after this year's redistribution, the populations of the various ridings differ enormously. From 19,907 in New Brunswick to 144,326 in Toronto's York North.

The major parties have the most to show in only 44 ridings—one in Manitoba, three each in Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, four in New Scotia, five in Newfoundland, none in Ontario and 16 in Quebec. Voters in the other 354 ridings have from 12 to 132 candidates to consider. The new order redistributed seats within the long-established Conservative Party of Canada, with 82 candidates, and Social Credit—which held 34 Commons seats in 1982—with only nine candidates this time out in Quebec, one in Ontario and two in British Columbia. Among the smaller and newer parties, the pro-democratic Liberals have the most candi-

dates in the same 38. There are 34 members of the democratic Reform Party in the race, mostly in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. And 72 candidates at the right-wing Progress Party are running in the four western provinces (page 24).

The most heavily contested riding: Vancouver-Queens, where the 12 candidates include two John Turners—the Liberal leader, identified as the leader as John M. Turner, and a Conservative candidate John Turner. Conservative leader Brian Mulroney, in his new riding of Chelmsford, Que., has three competitors, including personal Reform candidate François Gauthier, who has campaigned vigorously but lost in two in three past elections. Gauthier has also held political office in 1979 by running against his brother, former MP Robert Gauthier, in the Quebec riding of Argenteuil-Papineau. Meanwhile, the NDP's Edward Broadbent faces four rivals—but so does—on Ontario, Ont., where he has held only through six elections for as well as 20 years.

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Layton (right): the federal election pulled volunteers from the local campaign

Voting early and often

Overlapping elections cause voter fatigue



The throng of the recent building on Toronto's Gerrard Street is plastered with 18 campaign placards that promote four candidates in two different elections. On Nov. 14, voters will elect candidates to 203 local government and school board posts in Metropolitan Toronto's six municipalities. Then, on Nov. 21, citizens will troop back to the polls to choose members of Parliament for the city's 23 federal ridings. In the span of eight days, voters will decide the fate of 438 aspiring mayors, city councillors, school trustees and politicians, 180 of whom are contesting federal seats. Said Toronto Councillor Jack Layton, who is running for re-election in the city's Ward 6: "The public is totally bewildered by the variety of issues being presented on every street in the city. The federal election has generated an additional level of confusion, and people are going into the municipal campaign with less information."

In Saskatchewan, local elections on Oct. 26, focusing on a debate over the cuts, overshadowed the national race. But in Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia, the federal campaign has made it difficult for many voters to concentrate on scores of municipal elections. Some recently completed and others still pending. Most municipal politicians say that the

federal election has siphoned off volunteers, campaign funds and media coverage. And many local candidates say that overlapping elections also result in voter fatigue and a lower turnout for them at the polls. Nova Scotia had their civic elections on Oct. 15, but British Columbia's local voting is taking place only two days before the federal election. Said Michael Campbell, campaign manager for Vancouver's Non-Partisan Association civic party: "Some people do not even know that there is a municipal election."

In Toronto, where politicians predict that less than 30 per cent of the city's 457,943 eligible voters—compared with the usual 55 to 60 per cent—will turn out for the municipal elections. Members of the Downtown New Democrats association—which has five candidates running for Toronto city council and school board—complained that the federal election has drained their party's resources. Layton, one of the association's candidates, said that at just a lecture the group has had up to 500 campaign volunteers to knock on doors, answer telephones and distribute signs and leaflets. This year, there are only 260 volunteers. In Vancouver, the six-member Committee of Progressive Electors, which runs candidates municipally, got around a similar problem by sharing volunteers with the federal party.

In Nova Scotia, the 600,000 elections have been won in the dramatic process since Premier John Buchanan called a provincial election last July 30. They returned his Progressive Conservative government with a reduced majority on Sept. 5. Then the province had its municipal elections, and voters are now getting ready for Nov. 21. Concluded Michael Savage, who ran his father John's successful campaign for re-election as mayor of Dartmouth: "There have been a hell of a lot of elections."

Muskegon in Saskatchewan, controversial resolutions on many local budgets further erode voter interest. In both Regina and Saskatoon, there were record voter turnouts of more than 60 per cent. Regina voters defeated a proposal to reduce municipal taxes by 10 per cent, after a letter campaign that pitched local business groups against city hall and union representing civic employees. The 56th member Regina Business Alliance, which includes companies that stood to save as much as \$21,600 each from the proposed tax reduction, said that Regina's taxes were as much as 37 per cent higher than Saskatoon's, that Regina city council spent \$15,700 on an advertising campaign warning that the council could reduce municipal services such as police protection and fire fighting. Former alderman and NDP member Douglas Archer won a hotly contested mayoral race by opposing the tax increases. Said Larry Schneider, who resigned as Regina's mayor to run independently for the Conservatives: "I do not think that anyone has been enthusiastic about the federal election. The municipal election has been uppermost in people's minds."

But voter enthusiasm will probably be highest at the Vancouver Island community of Port Alberni, its residents will vote in three elections in rapid succession. Two of these are on Nov. 29: the municipal election and a provincial referendum to fill a vacancy left by former NDP MLA Robert Sholly, who resigned to run as a federal candidate in the riding of Cowichan Valley. And just two days later is the federal election. So far, there are 37 candidates competing in the three races. Adding a provincial by-election to the mix, said Shirley Beckett, president of the Alberni District Teachers' Association, causes that voters will have trouble identifying "who is running for what."

But even in areas with just two elections, many municipal politicians have criticized the federal government for creating confusion among voters. Said veteran Vancouver alderman Donald Bellamy, who is running for re-election: "The federal government does not take municipal elections into consideration. They should have delayed the national election at least a week—if it was to be right after a municipal election." In cities and towns across the country, hundreds of would-be local politicians struggled for campaign resources when that luxury

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A depleted bench

Illness increases the Supreme Court's work load

Even at full strength, they face an overwhelming work load. But for seven of the nine justices of the Supreme Court of Canada, the season that began on Sept. 29 has proven to be even tougher than usual. illness has kept two of them, Mr. Justice Gerard La Duss and Mr. Justice Jean Beetz, from participating fully in the court's deliberations. And for the remaining members of the court—the highest judicial body in the land and the ultimate interpreter of the Canadian Con-

stitution—the delay is due to the two justices. "All I can say," he comments, "is that two justices have not been able to sit for this season, and there has been no decision handed down on Bill 101."

But court officials say that they hope both justices will soon return. Indeed, Beetz, 61, has been able to work from home while recovering from minor surgery. La Duss's status is less certain. The nature of his illness has not been made public, and a court spokesman would only



Beetz (left), La Duss: more eight and weekend work for the remaining justices

stitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—that has created a major increase in their duties. Said one Supreme Court staff member: "The judges are working days and nights and on weekends; they were doing that before in an attempt to keep ahead of the work load, so you can imagine what the pressure is like."

The Supreme Court hears about 100 cases a year. Of those, constitutional cases are often more demanding and time-consuming than non-constitutional cases of the decade, Quebec language rights. Last fall, the provincial governments' appeal as a result of a lower court decision that Bill 101, which designates French as the province's sole official language, is unconstitutional. La Duss and Beetz were among the seven justices who heard the Bill 100 case—last they because all before a judgment on the case was rendered. Now, one year later, a decision has still not been handed down. A Supreme Court spokesman would not com-

ment on the delay. "In and out of the hospital," he says. "In the same time, there has been speculation that he might be considering retirement before the mandatory age of 75. Last year, Mr. Duss told: 'Maybe I don't want to live some time to enjoy my grandchildren before I'm called off the field.'"

Should another judge return to the court, only four members would remain who heard the Bill 100 case—a fifth, Mr. Justice William Estey, retired in April. Under the Supreme Court Act, a decision requires the ruling of at least five justices—unless the parties involved in the case consent to a decision by only four. But court officials refuse to predict how long the justices will wait for their colleagues' returns before expiring that consent in order to hand down an eagerly awaited decision on the case. "It is just part of the necessary confidentiality of the court," said one court spokesman. In the meantime, the remaining seven justices struggle to stay on top of an ever-increasing work load.

CINDY BARRETT



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At war with the fighters

To Labrador's Innu, NATO is an enemy

For the foreign pilots stationed at Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay in Labrador, it was a time to think of Innu—and to hold fast to their position. The flyers from some of Canada's NATO allies—West Germany, the Netherlands and Britain—were preparing last week to leave Canada at the end of their training season on Oct. 30. But another group at the airbase, the 350 native Innu people living in a makeshift 20-site camp on the end of the 3,300-m runway, showed no signs of withdrawing. Since Sept. 11, the Innu have been holding a series of rallies and protests against the pilots' low-level training flights over the reserve's traditional lands. Last week, as the protesters moved their tents onto a black spruce forest beside the runway in search of shelter from the cold weather, Stuart Ashon, chief of the local Sheshatshuan band, said that their camp would stay in place until at least mid-December, even though the training flights are not scheduled to begin again until next April. As the pilots began their farewell celebrations, Innu leaders held delivered parting notes that ended with the message: "Here a few weeks. We'll see you in the spring."

For the 3,500 native people of northern Quebec and Labrador known as Innu, 1985 has been the fourth year of active protest against Innu-level flight rights and unilaterally imposed laws. Those fights have taken place over the 190,000-square-mile territory that the Innu call Nuxatun and claim as their own in a long-standing land dispute with the federal government. Since the latest protest began, RCMP have lost more than 180 machine charges against the Innu demonstrators. And a new law passed last year that allows the Innu to hunt and trap on their land has been blocked because of Labrador's 34,000 people clearly favor the Innu presence—the Assembly also insists on a contingent there—and the Innu claim that it goes to the local economy. But declarations of support passed in the month from outside "If there is anything we can do to assist you in your struggle, please let us know," wrote Bernard Ostryak, chief of Alberta's Little Bear Innu band. After 44 years of negotiation, that group reached a preliminary agreement with Alberta Premier David Getty on Oct. 22 for a 79-square-mile

reserve. As well, women who for many years have staged a continuous protest at Greenham Common, west of London, against U.S. cruise missiles stationed there, sent a letter of support. And Conrad Seow, vice-chief of the Assembly of First Nations, the national organization representing Canada's status and treaty Indians, arrived from Quebec City with a

could see the pilots' home. It is very frightening for the kids—especially when they come in four at a time."

Seow's feelings for the federal and provincial governments say that local residents have no say in but he declining and changing their migratory patterns—although the cause of any changes remains under serious debate. But among of Labrador's natives are clearly willing to tolerate the NATO presence because, they say, the military sustains the local economy. Declared Happy Valley-Goose Bay engineering consultant Anthony Gaudin "Here, we're all for peace in our homes but this is bread and butter." And Patrick Vickers, the owner of a thriving building-supply company, said that since he came to Goose Bay 30 years



Native demonstrators at Goose Bay: a message of support from Alberta's Little Bear band

cash gift of \$4,000 to help maintain the Innu camp.

For the Innu, the most immediate grievance is against Ottawa and the Innu continue with which the federal government has signed training flight agreements. Those accords can be renewed only at least the year 2006. The Innu, who claim that the low-level test flights are an invasion of their lands, also say that the screaming jets damage the lives of Innu who still live all the land for up to two months a year. And Innu spokesmen also claim that the flights are affecting caribou herds—the primary source of Innu subsistence—by causing persistent herds and forcing herds to abandon traditional hunting grounds. As Dominic Poirer, a 54-year-old father of 11, reduced to a cubsion of spruce boughs before a blaring computer in one of the tents at the base's runway, he vividly described the test flights. "They seemed to touch the ice," he said. "They were so low you

ago, the community has grown from a rugged collection of 40 shacks to a bustling town of 3,000 that two years ago began to develop suburbs with 150,000 houses. According to Vickers, the growing numbers of people need to provide services to the NATO forces account for a large part of that growth. "The nature way for young people is already lost," said Vickers. "The seniors are going to have to go by the airport. The airport runs."

Others say that the military presence is a necessary evil. Clara Raskewicz, a 14th businesswoman whose family's roots go back several generations in Labrador, acknowledged that "the industry we're in is changing in a scary way." But Raskewicz, the owner of two craft shops, also noted that industries in other parts of the country produce bad side effects and added, "That's just the way it is." Like many other local people, Raskewicz said that she regrets the fact that Labrador—occasionally

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CANADA

dependent primarily on resource industries—lacks a well-rounded economy. But she added that the NATO presence may eventually bring other long-desired benefits such as the completion of the Trans-Alberta Highway, year-round shipping and a new hospital and recreational facilities. At the same time, she said that the Innu would probably be opposed to any development in the area until their land claim is settled. She added, "They would make the most firm about a hydro development."

Shelbourne also said that the Innu should act quickly in preparing the case for their land claim—a study for which the federal government has given them \$1.4 million since 1979. Innu spokesmen say that the study is almost complete and that it will substantiate their claim that their land was never ceded to the government as an official treaty. "The land is being turned over to foreign nations without the consent of the rightful owners," declared Sheshambi land council member Peter Pousash. "It is as if someone comes into your home, helps themselves to your biscuits and runs they are looking for the fridge."

For Alberta's 478-member Lubicon band, meanwhile, last week brought both good and bad news. The deal between Getty and the Indians must also be approved by Ottawa, and last week, federal Indian Affairs Minister William McKnight said that the government is ready to establish a reserve. But McKnight also singled out some trouble spots in future negotiations between the federal government and the Lubicon. For one thing, he declared that any settlement worked out between the Indians and Ottawas would only apply to status Indians—which means that as many as 60 Lubicon band members would be excluded from the deal. Ominously, along with other Alberta Indian chiefs, condemned McKnight's stance, a signal that tough negotiations still lie ahead for the Lubicon.

For their part, Innu spokesmen expressed frustration at the manner in which land claims negotiations are carried out. "It is a game developed by the Canadian government—it is not our game," declared band member Ben Michel. Like many other native groups in Canada, the Innu are told over and over to simply pursue the land claim or to go beyond that and demand sovereignty and self-government. And last week, as the foreign pilots prepared to return to their homes, Innu chiefs were pushing ways to put more pressure on the federal government. In another protest, 70 Innu erected a tent on a common lawn area at front of five houses occupied by the Innu's top officers—to further underscore their claims to the land. Innu spokesmen also said that they may take their protest to other NATO countries—and perhaps to the United Nations—a move that could embarrass the Canadian government. Bechoché Michel: "We have many miles to go before we sleep. And the promise of sleep will only come when Canada and the international community respect the Innu as a distinct people."

GLEN ALLIEN in *Green Day*



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CANADA

Outside agitators

Special-interest groups join the battle



The floodgates opened days before the 1984 federal election campaign: the right-wing National Citizens' Coalition (NCC) spent \$200,000 on a

short challenge of the federal election law that prohibited the use of the media by interest groups and individuals to support or challenge candidates during a campaign. On June 26, 1984, Mr. Justice Donald McEachern of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench ruled that the law was "a restriction on freedom of expression" and voided. Chief electoral officer Jean-Marc Hamel did not appeal the judgment, and the decision applied equally in all provinces. The NCC went on to spend about \$200,000 that year on advertising attacking the New Democrats. But the full impact of McEachern's ruling, and Hamel's agreement, did not register for another four years—until the current federal election campaign.

Several groups not covered by spending restrictions on political parties have been pouring millions of dollars into issue-oriented advertising, which commentator of Canada Elections George Allen says is sometimes clearly partisan. The NCC, for one, has continued its anti-MR campaign. Still, even some left-wing opponents of the NCC applaud its 1984 court initiative. Said Robert Prosen, spokesman for the Canadian Peace Pledge Campaign: "The electoral process does not belong solely to the political parties. We have important issues to discuss, too."

The Peace Pledge Campaign, a coalition of peace groups, is one of the organizations that will contribute an estimated \$4 million worth of radio and TV ads, newspaper inserts and pamphlets to this year's political advertising blitz. These groups run the gamut of the political spectrum, from promoters of free trade to critics of nuclear submarines. And the outsiders themselves could not begin until 29 days before the vote. The outsiders' newfound freedom—and their advantages over the parties—clearly makes some politicians nervous. And NCC president David Susserville, 38, said that they have every reason to be. "The parties have had their stronghold broken on the political process," he declared.

During the campaign, the NCC has continued to outpace New Democrats by sponsoring a \$15,000 radio, television, newspaper and direct-mail campaign. A NCC stronghold in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba—led in NCC Leader Edward Browne's Ottawa, Ont., riding. But the Peace Pledge Campaign will spend up to \$300,000 attacking the Tories for their defence record and supporting the NCC in about 20 ridings. And in the same

time, a coalition of postal unions has announced a \$200,000 plan to distribute two million leaflets in 49 Tory-held ridings, decrying Conservative initiatives to privatize postal services and to replace home mail delivery in new suburbs with so-called superboxes.

The issue that has sparked the greatest spending is free trade. The Pro-Canada Net-

work States "We do not want a style of politics where there is more money spent outside the system than within," Sears said. But, he added, "We can't let people go on forever on public policy. It is a dilemma."

Still, the line between support of a private and support of a party is easily blurred. Conservative Allen said that support for free trade, for one, is tantamount to support for the Conservatives. Said Allen: "I am not sure what a judge would say, but our view is that free trade is such a central issue of the campaign and so identified with one party that you can't support it without promoting the party."

Meanwhile, provincial Tories can effectively prohibit the federal Tory campaign while welcoming the federal party's message across



NCC's Susserville: unrestricted campaign ads make some politicians nervous

work, an affiliate of unions, church groups and other organizations opposed to the deal, has already spent \$610,000 to print and distribute 2.2 million 24-page booklets that strongly denounce the agreement. With further orders of the booklets expected by the network—and with a French translation on the way—the group expects to spend close to \$1 million. In response, the opposing Canadian Alliance for Free Trade and Job Opportunities plans to circulate six million advertisements in newspapers nationwide at an estimated cost of up to \$1.5 million.

The outside advertising has raised a number of other difficult issues. Politicians from the three main federal parties say that unlimited spending by outside groups contradicts the spirit of current laws that attempt to control campaign spending. John Sears, deputy director of the NCC campaign, raised the possibility of Canadian politics being subject to the kind of political action committees that have become extremely influential lobby groups in the U.S.

But Saskatchewan Premier Grant Bowers said part of his riding advertising budget is to run a series of pro-free trade radio ads in his constituency early in the campaign. Allen said that he had asked the three federal parties for help in denouncing their provincial colleagues from advertising about federal issues. But Ivan Kravtchuk, director of communications for the Tories, said that if provincial Conservatives want to run ads attacking free trade, "that's their business."

Politicians from all three parties said that Canada's own Parliament will have to confront the problem of outside advertising. But it promises to be a prickly subject. Said Bowers: "I have been watching people debate this from every angle and I have yet to hear someone come forward with a solution." For Parliament, the challenge will be to find a way to limit spending—without limiting freedom of speech.

MARC CLARKE in Ottawa

Outside looking in

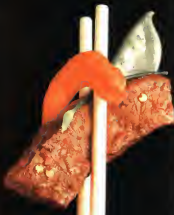
The fringe parties join in the race to November



They were excluded from last week's debate on national television, but the Liberal Party of Canada's fringe parties, Campbell's diverse (fringe) parties, are about to be in the national spotlight. Since 1981, representatives of various fringe parties—those that later year after year in the shadow of the Progressive Conservatives, Liberals and New Democrats—have spent unsuccessfully as much as \$1 million to get their parties exposed. Spearheading this year's attempt was the environmental Green party, whose leader, Seymour Tringer, 68, expressed disappointment after Campbell's refusal to grant an appearance to stop the debate. "TV is the most important medium," said Tringer, a B.C.-based educational consultant, "and we don't get a shot at it because it is still a tight circle."

For the new small parties that registered for the Nov. 23 election, politics in Canada is indeed a closed system—and they are outside of it. Their policies rarely make the nightly national TV news or the front pages of daily newspapers. And although anyone can register a political party with Elections Canada if he can field at least 50 candidates, those contenders are even more rarely ever elected. Yet in successive federal campaigns, the political system's fringe-dwellers rudely insist that the campaign trail—increasingly paying no attention to past polling-day misadventures. Party platforms range from the deliberately outrageous to the extremely conservative. And candidates, in turn, span the spectrum from irreverent to deadly serious.

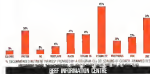
This year, the fringe party that appears to be mounting the most effective campaign is the western-based Reform Party of Canada. Founded one year ago in Winnipeg, after candidate-scandal-hit Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's perceived preferential treatment of Central Canada landed a final wave of western discontent, the Reform Party is conducting 18 rallies across the West—with strong candidates in several Alberta fights. Among them is party leader Preston Manning, an articulate 44-year-old management consultant and son of former Alberta premier James Manning. He is mounting a strong campaign against Liberal Alberta Minister Joe Clark in the west-central



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Jack Daniel in 1960. Photo by John J. ...

ONE SMALL DISTILLERY, in Lynchburg, Tennessee, still has the time to make their whiskey uncommonly smooth: Jack Daniel's.

Things are leisurely here. And we take time to do things right. We take special care to filter our whiskey through ten solid feet of charcoal before it is barrelled to age.

The reason: to keep unchanged the smooth, smooch flavor that has won six awards of excellence in competitions throughout the world. When you first taste Jack Daniel's, we predict a pleasurable moment. Followed by a friendship that will last for life.

JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY



If you'd like a booklet about Jack Daniel's Whiskey, write on a letter head in Lynchburg, Tenn 37402, 903-481-1111.

PEOPLE

did not garner enough support. Now, Lemme will not divulge the party's membership figures. But he predicts that the party will again become a force in Canadian politics. One policy plank, according to Lemme, is "to call the country back to Christian principles, as compared to the three shades of business currently in Ottawa."

Another fundamentalist movement, the Christian Heritage Party, founded in Vancouver in 1986, has 63 candidates. "We are not a Bible-thumping party," says Rogers Pells, Ont., candidate William Adams, 53, who was a Liberal from 1960 to 1979. "But we want to get back to the values this country was founded on." The party is campaigning against abortion, pornography, and government-run child care and for a balanced federal budget.

Canada's venerable Conservative party, which has had two members elected in its 65 years, is running 82 candidates, who are campaigning largely on an anti-free-trade platform. Party leader George Harewood, 44, former secretary treasurer of the B.C. United Farmers and Allied Workers Unions, replaced William Kuchin, who had been leader since 1985, in May. "Our campaign focuses on the real nature of Mulroney's neo-Conservative, pro-CIA policies," Harewood said. "Under the Tories, we have seen an unprecedented onslaught against trade unions to slash real wages and undermine working conditions."

For their part, the 51 candidates running for Confederation of Regions Western Party, led by longtime western nationalist Elmer Knauth, are presenting a platform to dramatically split Canada, with their regions—and make English the country's only official language. And the Montreal-based Party for the Commonwealth of Canada, fielding 56 candidates at the current election, is campaigning for a republican form of government in which individual elected representatives—not civil servants or majority parties—can draft legislation.

But the most interesting group is the anti-radical Blocs Party, which is running 14 candidates, about half of them in Quebec. Formed in 1983, the party is devoted to making the Canadian political system. Dedicated leader Charlie McKeown, 48, a Montreal-based freelance journalist: "Our major policy positions are that we will wear clean socks, eat our vegetables and wash behind our ears." In Fredericton, New Brunswick, candidate Chris Patterson, 36, a computer-science student, lists among his credentials the fact that he has been in politics "for about two weeks." The major plank of his platform, he added, is that "every graduate will get a \$500,000 grant to study the advances of advanced science on private lives." Like the other fringe candidates, few, if any, Adams will have close to winning a seat on Nov. 21. But their parties will continue to exist—as long as there are Canadians who feel strongly that free-market interests are not being served by the country's mainstream politicians.

JEREMY BARNES is in Calgary with correspondents' reports.

PEOPLE

THE SHOW MUST GO ON

For Olympia Dukakis, 37, the show must go on, even on Nov. 8, the night that her first cousin Michael Dukakis could be elected U.S. president. On that night, the Oscar-winning actress will be starring in Canadian George F. Walker's 1983 comedy-satire, *Better Living*, which opens this week in Manhattan, N.J. For his part, Walker says, "I hope Dukakis wins, and not just because I'd help the plot." Following strong ticket sales, the show's run was extended until Dec. 11, confirming that there is already one winner in the family.

Growing up

Having grown up as a star in Quebec, Céline Dion is now ready to leave home and tackle a new market. After counting down top-selling albums in France, the 20-year-old singer from Montreal—who began her career at 15 and who last week won four prizes at the Quebec music industry awards, including best female singer of the year—will be preparing to sing in English. In January, she travels to Los Angeles to cut her own solo album. Says Dion, who also won first prize in the renowned Eurovision song contest in Dublin last spring: "All I ask from life is to sing and travel with my songs." Montreal's singer-for-a-day Dion, who produced Dion's latest record winning album, *Imaginaire*, and who is now writing songs in English for the singer, says that the former child-star is ready at last to tackle larger markets. Adds Dion of Dion's burgeoning talent: "She has matured 16 years in the last year—she might become the next Whitney Houston."

Dion: Quebec's sweetheart



HISTORY ROCKS ON

Rock star Bryan Adams is helping the department of National defence make war victorious a bit with Canada's youth. The 38-year-old singer's latest video raises a catchy rock song, *Remember the Day*—which tells of the sacrifices of Canadian soldiers—with archival films and photographs of young fighting men in action and the country's war heroes who won the Victoria Cross for bravery. The Kingston, Ont.-born son of a former military officer, Adams says that he wanted to honor the men who were just "kids" when they went to war: "I value my freedom and I have a great respect for our freedom." He adds: "This song is for them." DND is distributing copies of the 4½-minute video to 8,000 schools across Canada in time for Nov. 11. *Remember the Day* observations: Said video producer William O'Farrell: "It's wasted young people 20 feet more overseas than the veterans and not just look at them as some old grizzled war-torn badgers and men."

Adams: singing music, not war



Des Barres: doing pays off

JOYS OF BARING ALL

Supergroup Pamela Des Barres says that writing about the details of her messy affairs is her reward for 30 years of celebrity dating. In her memoirs, *I'm With the Band*, recently released in paperback, Des Barres, now 40, sexually critiques her lovers, who she says have included Mick Jagger and actor Don Johnson. Now, after posing nude for a future issue of *Playboy*, Des Barres says, "It took a long time, but I am becoming successful for something I am doing, not the person I am with."

Agony and ecstasy

Another Linda Eriv says that he usually spends three to six years researching a book, but his latest work is the study of a lifetime. Eriv, 46, adds that for his recently published novel, *Little Peace*—which is set mainly in Israel in 1956—he confronted his unhappy childhood, life as a U.S. marine and his battles with Hollywood. Eriv, who worked in Israel in 1956, says the task was painful, but that he enjoyed recreating his love affairs. Adds Eriv: "I was pretty hot stuff."

PRETORIA'S GAMBLE

THE RULING NATIONAL PARTY MET ITS GREATEST POLITICAL CHALLENGE IN 40 YEARS

The leaders of South Africa's ruling National party seemed jubilant. Their gamble in halting nationwide municipal elections had worked—mitigating a massive boycott by blacks and a crumbling by straight-wing whites—appeared to have succeeded. Blacks had turned out to vote in large enough numbers to give the elections some credibility, and the white supremacist Conservative party had failed to fulfil protection fears that it would seize control of one or more of the country's major cities. Even white liberals—such as Helen Suzman, a leader of the opposition Progressive Federal party—expressed guarded satisfaction that the Nationalists had withstood the challenge from the right. "It wouldn't have two thirds," said Suzman. "But I would name a very big sigh of relief." But black opponents of apartheid, such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were clearly scornful of government claims that 30 per cent of the registered black electorate had turned out. Said Tutu: "If you write an exam and you get 30 per cent, you have failed."

Although polling was strictly segregated, the Oct. 26 elections—to 80 7,329 seats on separate black, white, Indian and colored (mixed-race) local councils—were the first since South Africa's 40 years have first simultaneously anti-apartheid groups demanded the process be unadorned, but the elections did control the Nationalists with their greatest challenge in 60 years of power. As the results came in, the government—encouraged by the relative failure of the rightists who want to revert to the strict apartheid system of the past—indicated that it would soon resume its program of cautious and limited political reforms, including by black nationalists' success and the 1986 declaration of a unitary state of emergency.



Black voters in Soweto: a large enough overall turnout to give some credibility

The architect of that reform program, Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development Christian Heunis, said that the outcome would "give voters satisfaction to the process of constitutional development." But clearly, that process would not include full voting rights for the 26-million-strong black majority. "The best one can hope for," said Suzman, "is that the modest incremental changes that have been on the back burner for the past three years will now go onto the front burner."

Most interest focused on the black voter

turnout and the showing of Andrew Trexwell's Conservative party. Trexwell, 51, broke with the National party in 1982 to protest against the education of some racial supremacist laws—including a ban on interracial marriage—and a decision to give Indians and coloreds representation within the previously whites-only parliament. His Conservative party immediately attracted support from extremists in Afrikaans. In last year's federal election, the Conservatives won 22 seats in the 178-seat parliament, replacing the moderate Progress-

ive Federals as the official opposition. So rapidly did the party gather strength that some analysts have predicted a Conservative victory over the Nationalists in the next federal election, expected next year. But last week's results make that prospect seem less likely. Trexwell himself claimed that the results had put his party as "a very strong position" but stopped short of predicting victory at the federal polls.

The Conservatives had their strongest showings in the small towns and farming communities of the Transvaal, the richest and most populous of South Africa's four provinces, and

been, respectively—remained in the hands of liberal politicians. The Nationalists themselves—in addition to bolting off the Conservative challenge—scored their highest win in Johannesburg, winning control of the key southern city for the first time since the Progressive Federalists' victory in 1978.

Meanwhile, the government and that the substantial black participation in last week's elections makes credible its claims that moderate blacks are willing to work for gradual change within the system. According to official figures, the black vote ranged from a high of 80 per cent in some small rural towns of Cape Province to a low of less than 12 per cent in towns, the highly politicized sprawling black township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The state-controlled radio said that about 30 per cent of the 1.5 million registered black voters turned out nationwide. That compared with a 25-per-cent turnout in the last local government elections five years ago, despite calls for a boycott by anti-apartheid groups and called leaders of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Still, almost half of the 1,829 black council seats were uncontested, and the estimated 400,000 blacks who did vote were only a small proportion of the adult black population. Accordingly, a spokesman for a white liberal group called the Free Federation Forum said that it would be "dangerous" to conclude that the turnout represented "a significant acceptance" of the process by the black community. And Archbishop Tutu declared: "Manipulative statistics whenever you see like. The reality remains that black South Africans reject apartheid and government attempts to give it a new coat of paint."

One way in which the government secured a respectable black turnout was by a system of voter voting to reduce the threat of intimidation. That scheme allowed blacks to appear beyond demands and cast their votes in local government offices at any time between Oct. 10 and election day, under the guise of performing some other function, such as paying the rent. Also, on voting day all polling stations were heavily guarded by troops at police in a successful move to prevent intimidation. Each voter was body-searched, sometimes twice, before being allowed in. The resulting chaos was in marked contrast to the run-up to election day, when bomb attacks and other violence widely blamed on the ANC—were an almost daily occurrence.

In the aftermath of the elections, government constitutional expert Heunis said with evident satisfaction that the people had voted for "peace, prosperity and democracy" rather than "violence, war and poverty." But with anti-apartheid organizations banned, hundreds of black leaders detained without trial, the new mode tightly restricted and the economy suffering under the impact of international trade sanctions, peace, prosperity and democracy still seemed a long way off.

JOHN BIERMAN with CHRIS DEGRASSI in Cape Town



World Notes

A SEAF FOR CANADA

For the first time since 1977-1978, Canada will sit on the 15-member North Atlantic Treaty Council. In voting for the 10 non-permanent seats reserved for Western countries, the UN General Assembly elected Canada and Finland to two-year terms starting next January. Colombia, Malaysia and Thailand also won seats, five of which are filled annually by secret ballot.

TYPHOON DISASTER

Typhoon Ruby roared across the Philippines, killing at least 160 people and leaving more than 160,000 homeless. At least 200 people were killed after the catastrophic ferry Danao Marlin capsized when heavy seas with 500 people aboard.

EMBASSY INTRIGUE

President Ronald Reagan wants to use the uncompleted U.S. Embassy in Moscow and build a new one. Work on the embassy was halted in 1983, when officials found Soviet housing devices in the structure. Congress must approve funds for the rebuilding, which some estimates put as high as \$425 million.

A CHANGE IN HUNGARY

Károly Gábor, Hungary's minister prime minister since 1987, announced that he will resign in November. Gábor, 58, said that he will retain the once powerful post of Communist party general secretary.

REMEMBERING A POSTAGE

Seven Laborite newspapers published a letter of support for U.S. hostage Terry Anderson, on the eve of his 43rd birthday, from journalists working for his release. Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent for The Associated Press, was kidnapped March 26, 1985, by Islamic Jihad, a pro-Islamic Shiite Muslim faction.

SOVIET SHUTTLE STALLS

A launch-system failure halted blast-off of the Soviet space shuttle Bion. Soviet space shuttle was scheduled for Sunday, Oct. 29, at the Baikonur cosmodrome in Central Asia. The postponement was the third setback in the Soviet space program in recent weeks.

SWEDISH ANIMAL RIGHTS

Sweden's new law on European neighbors for its comprehensive social program, is extending rights to farm animals. Under an animal welfare law enacted in July, cattle, pigs and chickens—confined to close quarters through factory farming methods—have several legal rights, including freedom from water injections of drugs and barbiturates.



WORLD

THE SOVIET UNION

Breaking the ice

Soviet-West German relations are improving

It was a call that electrified his hosts. At a banquet made Moscow's guests: Gerald Koehn's Palace last week, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl issued a ringing demand for a rapprochement of the two Germanys. And he made that bold statement in the face of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's open and often-voiced opposition to such a development. But Kohl. "It must become possible for Germans to overcome the division of their country by peaceful means. This division is unnatural: the cohesion of the Germans is a historic and human reality which politics cannot ignore." Gorbachev, however, spoke against the proposal. Quoting the famous German philosopher and poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, he declared, "Nothing is more dangerous for the new truth than the old delusion." But the leaders were clearly too intent on improving relations between their two countries to allow the reunification issue to disrupt Kohl's four-day visit. Last Wednesday, Kohl announced that officials had assured him that

the Soviets will release all political prisoners by the end of the year.

As well as raising reunification and the prisoners, the two leaders ranged over a variety of other topics. Those included the future of two million ethnic Germans living in the Soviet Union—many of whom want to emigrate to West Germany—as well as a possible international role for divided Berlin. But economic issues, particularly trade and cooperation between the two countries, dominated the talks as Kohl and Gorbachev sought to get relations between their countries on a more solid footing.

In the nearly 40 years since Germany was partitioned following its defeat in the Second World War, relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany have frequently been strained. And many people in the Soviet Union—which lost more than 20 million people in the war—still seem to harbor deep resentment and suspicion toward Germans. Gorbachev himself reflected those feelings when he

Kohl (center left) and Gorbachev in Moscow: putting the past behind

told Kohl last week, "There is much in the memory of the two peoples that one cannot think about without a shudder."

In 1983, Moscow vigorously protested Bonn's decision to allow U.S. Pershing 2 missiles to be deployed in West Germany. At the same time, personal exchanges between Gorbachev and Kohl, leader of the now-ruling Communist (Soviet) Party, have been infrequent but heated. Relations hit their lowest ebb two years ago when the Gorbachev leader compared Gorbachev's public relations skills to those of Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels. But by the time Kohl ended his visit in Moscow last Thursday, both leaders declared that the diplomatic ice between them had been broken.

The only real controversy arose when Kohl announced that Soviet officials had promised to free political prisoners. He added, "The Soviets confirmed that they will release before the end of the year all political prisoners as we understand it in the West." Kohl—who had earlier met with prominent Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Irina Sakharova—declined to identify the names of the prisoners, or to say how many prisoners would be freed.

At first, Soviet officials refused to confirm that any such promises had been made to Kohl. But on Thursday, Gennady Gerasimov, the chief spokesman for the foreign ministry, clar-



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WORLD

fect the situation. Genshew said that a "dozen or two" prisoners would be released in "a matter of weeks"—a number far lower than Western estimates of between 150 and 500 people held in Soviet prisons for their political beliefs.

While Gorbachev and Kohl were clearly far apart in their positions on the future of the two Germanys, they were also clearly determined to avoid jeopardizing the still-fragile spirit of mutual goodwill. Gorbachev and Kohl, who was accompanied by several cabinet ministers and about 50 leaders of his country's business community, signed a series of agreements ranging from co-operation on environmental issues to the establishment of a \$1-billion credit line from West German banks to upgrade the Soviet food manufacturing industry. West German businessmen and bankers also signed agreements for more than a dozen joint-venture projects in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the leaders discussed a topic of particular emotional importance to West Germany: the future of two million people of German ethnic origin now living in the Soviet Union. Since emigration requirements were relaxed this year, more than 30,000 Soviets of German origin, some of whose ancestors settled on the Volga River more than two centuries ago, have settled in West Germany. Only 14,500 were allowed to emigrate in 1987. Last week, Gorbachev pledged to address the problems of the ethnic Germans—including their calls for greater religious freedom, cultural rights and a faster raising of emigration limits—but pointedly warned Kohl interference in Soviet domestic matters.

Talks between representatives of the two sides also accompanied topics that were both practical and contentious. The status of West Berlin is a key element in trade talks between countries from the Soviet-controlled Eastern bloc and the European Community, of which West Germany is a member. The Kremlin said West Berlin is regarded as part of its territory. Moscow has opposed that request, arguing that it is actually a neutral island of the city—which is located inside the territory of East Germany—with Britain, France and the United States. Last week, Gorbachev said that the Kremlin is "not against West Berlin's participation in European and international relations, provided that the city's special status remains intact."

But the two sides were at clear agreement on their interest in heightening economic co-operation. Trade between the two countries dropped to less than \$13 billion in 1987 from more than \$12 billion in 1986 because of frequent interdictions of prices that sharply reduced use of Moscow's pri-

mal sources of hard Western currency. At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet last week, Prime Minister Boris Yeltsin said that economic loans since 1985 as a result of falling prices amounted to \$19 billion. And citing Gorbachev's policy of glasnost (openness), Gorbachev for the first time publicly announced that the 1989 budget would have a deficit of

economic predict that economic growth and use will slip to an infamously poor 1.5 per cent. By strengthening ties with Moscow, West German leaders will attempt to tap into such projects as development of the mineral-rich Kola Peninsula in the northwestern part of the country. As well, West German companies are planning to build a massive \$24-million trade complex in Moscow that would include a hotel, apartments and office space for West German banks and companies. Said one West German trade official: "By helping the Soviet Union modernize now, we can ensure the change and confidence for an even larger trade market in future."

Most political leaders in the United States and its allies are keenly supportive of improved relations with Moscow. But some of them say privately that they fear Western countries, by increasing sharply in the Soviet Union, will allow Gorbachev badly needed time and money to rebuild a system that opponents think. Said The Times of London in an editorial last week, criticizing Kohl's visit: "There must be evidence of a will to change principles as well as practice. Mr. Gorbachev's promise of 'more socialism' is not, at its core, encouraging."

In an era of improved relations between the two countries, few West German seem to share that view. A poll conducted by a West German television station last week showed that 83 per cent of respondents believe Gorbachev is a "man who can be trusted." As well, 45 per cent of those polled said that they considered relations with the Soviet Union to be as good as they had a "high degree" of interest in Soviet affairs.

Still, a similar poll conducted in Moscow last month showed that the Soviets are less enthusiastic. In a survey conducted by Moscow's *Pravda* and Research Agency of Gosstat, only 58 per cent of Soviet respondents said they considered relations between the countries "good," and only 21 per cent said they were interested in news about West Germany.

Despite his desire for closer economic ties with West Germany, Gorbachev is clearly aware of the potential strength of such sympathy. In a brief appearance on Soviet television shortly after Kohl's arrival, he stressed the importance of putting aside past differences. Said Gorbachev: "The way has started to move, and we hope it will start to float away." For the leaders of two countries that have sometimes seemed irretrievably locked in back through and through, that caution was understandable.



Soviet worker encouraging West German investment

early \$17 billion. This year, Soviet officials expect total trade volume to mobilize and to increase next year.

At the same time, many West Germans clearly regard the Soviet Union as a ripe prospect for trade at a time when their own country's traditionally strong economy shows signs of weakening. With unemployment in West Germany now at eight per cent, some

say they had a "high degree" of interest in Soviet affairs.

Kolbren, Bonner: freedom for political prisoners



ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow

AN UNEASY PATRIOTISM

FERVENT U.S.
FLAG-WAVING MASKS
AN UNDERCURRENT
OF INSECURITY

BY MARCY McDONALD

"Nothing is more embarrassing in the ordinary intercourse of life than this invisible patriotism of the American." —Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835



The shouting was American as well—apple pie. On the outskirts of Jackson, Tenn., a crowd of 10,000 had gathered in the gigantic parking lot of a town of the century store park called Casey Jones. Waving, chanting, they Americanized. Against the nostalgic backdrop of the old-time Country Store, singer Clint Adams was delivering his twangy rendition of *What a Wonderful Life* as a winning act for the store's real star, Vice-President George Bush. But a cloud blossomed in the blue Tennessee sky that even to that picture-perfect autumn afternoon, peach farmer Thomas Anderson issued a halting, throaty—an alien menace that had given him a clear desire for Bush's rival, Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis. "I don't like Dukakis's name," he said. "It's foreign. It just doesn't sound American."

Flagging: In the final weeks of a campaign that has blanketed itself in ever more massive displays of patriotic branding and idolized in almost holy veneration of the pledge of allegiance, Anderson's observation prompts some questions. What is Americans, after all? What does the United States stand for as a project as way through the muddling and mind-mangling rhetoric that has characterized this year's 43rd presidential election? What is the country's mood, its dreams and fears?

Ted Gonsky who has spent the better part

of the past year on the election trail, the answers are as complex as they are contradictory. Unparalleled problems confront the country: a trillion-dollar deficit and its newly acquired distinction as the world's leading debtor nation. Three million homeless roam its city streets and the infant-mortality rate last year ranked as the highest in the industrialized world. But the electronic has shown no appetite for bad news. Last month, over a delirious at a 9310-a-day lottery was outside Tucson, Ariz., a plump 32-year-old New Yorker threw her champagne-drenched miniature and announced "Michael Dukakis scares me. I'm voting for my pocketbook."

Issues: Front-and-center, voters complain that the candidates have failed to address the tough issues. But Dukakis triumphed in the Democratic primaries specifically on a strategy of vagueness, and crowds have rewarded Bush with thunderous applause every time he rails against "that old liberal Democrat talk of nuance." Bush's own speeches celebrate the fact that they are as good as America, an affirmation of Texas shows its spine. Democratic leaders denouncing how Republican vice-presidential nominee Dan Quayle had once again stood against the man's sitting oil industry. Instead, hands over their hearts, they read and cheered his through all four years of the national anthem, followed by *America the Beautiful* and an authorized version of *My I'm Proud to Be an American*—30 minutes of patriotic fervor that proceeded uninterrupted as the barbed beef on their banquet plates crumbled into cold red slides.

But beneath all the belated rhetoric and flag-waving, there lurks an undercurrent of anxiety and suspicion. Americans sense their cherished place in the world threatened by pasting and memorable forces, their economic dominance challenged by foreign industrial giants, and their military might called into question by a decade of international barbarism. In the campaign, that sense of fragility has emerged in denunciations of allies who ought to be forced to pay their fair share of the moral debt and of foreigners buying up the country in the cheap. Foreign investors now own 30 percent of the U.S. manufacturing base, 30 percent of its banks and 20 percent of the prime real estate in the nation's capital area. Dukakis has warned ominously that "foreign companies and foreign governments are beginning to control our economic desti-



Texas patriots voters want to prove the good times and have shown no appetite for reform.

ty." Bush scolded him for trying to tie the fates of anathema—a fear that might weaken America on the brink of an historic free trade agreement. But some analysts such as New York banker Felix Satterthwaite, Dukakis's message man, saw a useful twist in the prevailing campaign theme: economic patriotism.

Issue: Still, like the more traditional brand of patriotism, it seems to reflect a growing distrust of anything alien. In fact, in a nation that celebrates the immigrant's success story as the essence of its national dream, Michael Dukakis, who had planned to ride to the White House as its embodiment, may soon realize that the arch is also proud some highly this

man in two words: gun control. The case is that has less to do with who becomes president than who might become enemy itself. But in a country where the National Rifle Association has been distributing its coloring books to kindergarten pupils, it doesn't violate common-sense language. In its sponsored commercials on a country-wide station, Adams had listed actor Charlton Heston—the thunderous cinematic voice of Moses from *The Ten Commandments*—warn that Michael Dukakis wanted to take away his guns. The threat had evoked a proud frontier line: "Without guns, people are ripe to be raped," said Adams. "They can

use." "The banner the outline of the nation, the more necessary the language of reassurance." Most of the patriotic symbols blurring the campaign were only dated years after the American Revolution to provide a sort of national glow. The Stars and Stripes did not flutter in its present design uniformly over the landscape until 1912. Congress did not adopt Francis Scott Key's national anthem until 1931. The pledge of allegiance—which Bush blanketed Dukakis for not waving on the classroom of Massachusetts with the inscription, "What would the Founding Fathers think?"—was not passed until 1892, long after those

gentlemen were dead. And while Bush has presented it as a litmus test of true conservative faith, it was in fact written by Francis Pickens, a seceder.

Ordeal: In the dark days of national impotence that followed the 1860 secessionist crisis, Ronald Reagan distill of the symbols and applied them as a talisman to the wounded American people. With monomaniacal of the country's greatness repeated like a mantra, he renewed its good opinion of itself. Above all else, the stage of this year's presidential campaign is his legacy. After eight years with an actor in the White House, the electronic has become accustomed to the notion of image-making. There is no industry when a candidate is coerced away from news conferences at public accountability. In the post-Reagan era, perception has almost become reality. But as the smoke-and-mirror kingdom, nobody quite believes anything. A poll reported in *Nationalist's* *Parade* magazine revealed that only 13 percent of respondents think politicians are telling the truth.

Peace and prosperity in the shape: Bush is selling. But the underpinnings of its prosperity may prove, as most scholars predict, decidedly shaky. It seems a perfect commentary on the campaign that Bush's favorite theme song is the current pop tune, Don't Worry, Be Happy. What singer?

Bobby McFerrin, a Dublin supporter, has proclaimed its appropriateness by keeling. Ronald Reagan. But he is also saying in why Bush would want to play it publicly—the lyrics chronicle a story of financial disaster. "The landlord says your rent is late," says McFerrin, "the may have to be late." In fact, because listening to the words soon induces that the state relation is in a state of financial disaster, a state of mind. Bush's nation through his laugh at the anxiety of their job. They know full well that, in this year's presidential race, nobody seems to be listening to the words, only to the dead-eye-one name.

end up with a totalitarian government." Adams's energy was nameless, endless. But others, too, show his sense that it is there, but not to be used. From the horizon, writing to about the national future. From time to time, politicians have called on the rituals and trappings of patriotism to ward off these fears, just as an Indian shaman harnesses his bag of tricks to bewitch and spirit in his. According to historian Daniel Boorstin, the people's outbursts of unbridled boisterism that have punctuated American history have been less a measure of the country's pride than of its insecurity. Writes Boorstin in *The Ameri-*



COVER

THE MEAN MACHINES

A MUDDY RACE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE



They were born only 11 km from each other in two leafy small towns of Massachusetts' Norfolk County. One was an immigrant doctor's second son, the other, the second son of a blue-blooded financier. But both were products of conflict and the same fury, still upper-lip Yankee values—actions of hard work, public service and the view that real men do not boast about their achievements. These Irish will use the word "deserve" to describe them. And their critics say that there lie the same character flaws, too much cautious moderation and too little charisma. But one of the most startling aspects of this year's presidential election is that these two mid-eastern and far-western men—George Herbert Walker Bush and Michael Stanley Dukakis—have turned their \$200-million battle for the White House into the roughest, most negative and most shocking campaign of recent American history.

Last week, their mutual mingling reached an ugly crescendo that may ultimately prove costly to both. In a volley of charges and countercharges, each landed the other a hit. And as Dukakis threw himself into a last-ditch fight for his political life against Bush's mid-air, one-point lead in the latest NBC News/Hill Street Journal poll, their backers escalated the exchange of venom. Jesse Jackson charged that Bush was "endangering the lives" of blacks by running a campaign with racist undertones (page 36). Another former Democratic candidate, Representative Richard Gephardt, compared Bush's tactics to those of Adolf Hitler. Firing back, the vice-president accused Dukakis of trying to "incite fear of foreigners" with a protectionist trade pitch. And in a new TV commercial, Bush contended that Dukakis—in protesting that he had not borrowed money from the Massachusetts pension fund—had "deliberately misled 42 million Americans in the last debate."

But as the music of their struggle for the

Bush thronged by Indiana supporters: running a campaign of negativity

popular, overwhelming evidence mounted that, in neither who won the Nov. 8 ballot. Bush and Dukakis were both losing something far more important: the respect of Americans interested not only for the candidates themselves but for the democratic process. "There's less interest in voting this year," said Eric Grubbs, editorial page director of the conservative *Orange County Register* outside Los Angeles. "It tells you people are disgusted by high sales."

Warning: As a result, politicians are predicting the lowest voter turnout of this century. That prospect is all the more alarming in a country that already makes last in electoral participation among the five leading industrialized democracies. While 75 per cent of Canadians voted in the last federal election, only 53 per cent of Americans did. And U.S. media accounts of last week's Canadian leaders' debates contained scores of vitriolic allegations for



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their liberal's lack of stage-managed rules—in stark contrast to their own staged presidential counterparts (page 38). Commented CBS news anchor Peter Jennings, "This is what a real election debate can look like." But it is only a part. Even the hell of all eligible U.S. voters cast their ballots next week, those figures carry no implicit consent. Real Grubbs: "It's got to be very challenging—or humiliating—for whoever wins. Given the arithmetic, it means only a minority got him to office. He can hardly claim a mandate."

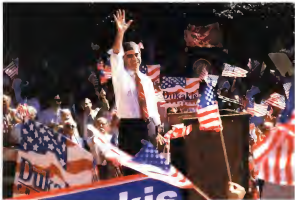
The election's disheartening run deep

entire chapter to the subject. "Why great men are not chosen presidents"—in the election of 1888. Still, lacking Ronald Reagan's personal appeal, Bush and Dukakis also have failed to offer a clear or compelling political vision. Both have spent much of the campaign trying to be all things to all wings of their parties—and, as a result, have often failed to inspire enthusiasm in any of them.

Softer Despite Bush's professions of faith in the conservatism of Reagan's conservatism, Republican right wingers were anxious about him. Although they are backing him

cast—say that they will vote Republican.

But Dukakis has also vetoed other traditional Democrats by his studied middle-of-the-road vagueness. One such Democrat is Amy Cuomo, a 30-year-old Georgetown University student in Washington, D.C., who had been looking forward to casting her first vote in a presidential election. Last February, she took a bus to New Hampshire to volunteer in Dukakis's primary campaign. But so disillusioned is she now that she plans to crack her ballot for obscure Libertarian candidate Ross Perot. "It's more of a protest vote," said Cuomo. "Dukakis



Dukakis at Detroit rally: the battle for the White House has become the meanest campaign of recent American history.

A CNN News/New York Times poll revealed last week that fully 64 per cent of the voters who responded wished that they had other candidates to choose from. As Robin Gellis, a Los Angeles jewelry store clerk, put it: "It's really weird that the choice is between these two. And it's frightening to think that one of them will become president." Gellis's personal selection seems fitting for a campaign that, more than any other has been tailored for television viewers. Said Gellis: "I feel like voting in Peter Jennings for president so my ballot."

Apology: Part of the squally squall from the low man perspectives of both Bush and Dukakis is that there is nothing new about American's frustration that a nation so proud and populous cannot field more scintillating candidates. James Bryce, the author of the landmark study *The American Commonwealth*, devoted an

apology, Dukakis, and Grubbs. "They don't much like him." He added, "Such a person as a much better fellow who's more accommodating to the nation's leadership."

Meanwhile, Dukakis's strategy of trying to win back the affections of the estimated nine million conservative Democrats who flocked to Reagan's banner in the past two presidential elections has plainly misfired. By early last month, the Democrats had already written off these once-hugest hopes of reclaiming these so-called Reagan Democrats in the South and shattered most of their regional efforts. In addition, Dukakis's latest nomination of conservative southern white males had alienated many blacks who make up the party's largest bloc of loyalists. Power blacks say that they will vote this year than in 1994, and twice as many—six per

cent as many of what he stands for that I don't like his screaming people. To me, it's almost as important to be saying what you believe as to be winning. Now he can't do either and he looks like a fool."

Revelation: Cuomo's shattered decision reflects a startling growth of public cynicism. A recent Parents magazine survey found that 79 per cent of its respondents believe that both candidates are just saying what they think the voters want to hear. Dishearteningly, across these cynicism as the candidates' negative advertising. But the irony of their protests is that, as the polls demonstrate daily, the negativity has worked.

In the Bush camp, the seeds of the negative campaign were planted back in primary season. On May 26, less than two weeks before the final California primary, five of Bush's top

Campaign staff members convened two focus groups of 15 voters in a conference room in Phoenix, AZ. At the time, Bush was trailing Dukakis by 16 points in the most recent Gallup poll, and half of those surveyed reported that they did not like Bush's personality. News reports had referred the vice-presidential as a "bump" and Reagan's "bump" and his own propensity for verbal blunders had reinforced the image in political parlance. Bush's "negative" were high.

Misery: But ladies behind a campaign mirror, his strategists watched a researcher inform the focus groups about a massive computer and search of Dukakis's record and public utterances. Among the revelations that the Massachusetts governor had vetoed legislation requiring his wife's teachers to lead classes in the pledge of allegiance and that a black concert pianist, Willie Bernstein, in an escape from Moscow (described as a "concert" program), had raped a Maryland woman and terrorized her thereafter. By the end of the presentation, 15 of the 30 Dukakis supporters had turned against him. "I realized that there we had the successful to win," said Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater, who witnessed the exercise and wrote his University of South Carolina doctoral thesis on negative campaigning. "The sky was the limit on Dukakis's negativity."

Thames: Those new jingles and foreign-born jingles appeared in Bush campaign commercials in the general election. And in the vice-presidential campaign the country jingles with golfers and suddenly talking tough about the need for the defense, possibly to manage to raise Dukakis's negative ratings as he lowered his own. Polls by *The New York Times* showed that while only 22 per cent of respondents said that Bush was tough enough on crime in his last months, 61 per cent said, as Larry Sabato, a professor of government at the University of Virginia, pointed out, "Everyone says, 'I have the negative ads,' but the charges stick. What do people remember about Dukakis? That he frequented a convicted murderer and is soft on criminals." Sabato predicts that negativity will continue to characterize election campaigning "until voters penalize people who use it." He added, "I think eventually the American people will get used to it and say 'We're not going to take it anymore.'"

After nearly six weeks of steadily ignoring Bush's nastiness over the wiretaps, Dukakis has spent the past three weeks looking back at the



Bush, John Cardinal O'Connor and Dukakis's Bush (below) and wife, Barbara, appear

attacks as "distasteful, lies and misrepresentations." His own negative commercials attacking Bush's television ads have now become the centerpiece of his strategy—and private Democratic polls show that Dukakis has begun to narrow the gap slightly. In the process, critics have found that Bush holds no monopoly on

taking liberties with his opponents' record. One Dukakis commercial claims that Bush cast a misleading vote on "tax" social security benefits to his side in support of the Social Security Act, he voted to freeze cost-of-living increases for them.

In the view of political scientist James David Barber of North Carolina's Duke University, "There's expressing the degradation of political discourse in this country." But as Barber points out, even the advertising war may have provided significant insights into the candidates' characters. Part of a candidate's job, after all, is to reassure his constituency.

"There has to be a conversation between the power and the people," said Barber. "A president has got to be good with rhetoric." In a 56-minute live interview on ABC's *Nightline* last week, Dukakis himself acknowledged that he had committed a strategic error in not answering Bush's attacks sooner—and commenting to voters who he is and what he stands for. Said William Schneider of Washington's nonpartisan American Enterprise Institute: "Bush charged him with being soft, and Dukakis proved he was right by just sitting there and taking it."

Dramatic: In fact, analysts are in the dunes of Dukakis's advertising strategy a mirror of what North Carolina Democratic Senator Terry Sanford has called "the worst-adapted campaign in this century." Dukakis's commercials have constantly changed focus, reaching out a series of scattered and sometimes confus-

ing messages. His advertising director, David D'Alessandro, spent an estimated \$3.4 million on television spots featuring actors who played a team of Bush media consultants talking jadedly about how to "poison" their candidate. But after the commercials were shown on the air, a first sample showed that some viewers thought they were testimonials for Bush. And John O'Toole, an advertising executive, wrote in the columns in Dukakis's current ads that campaign of his opponent's unfairness. Said O'Toole, "New we see Dukakis as crybaby."

Slick: Some analysts point out that the Democrats, having lost every presidential election since 1968—with the exception of Jimmy Carter's 1976 victory—lack a team of slick professionals with experience as winning. In fact, a number of veteran Madison Avenue admen, who relinquished their services to Dukakis, quit his campaign after their scripts and suggestions were ignored or officials refused to let them make the ads.

In an interview with *Los Angeles Times* last week, Dukakis protested that the election was "not about who puts together the best commercial—it's about who would lead the best government." But the chaotic management of his advertising wilderness has been so chaotic that he himself set as a test of leadership competence. Across the country, Democrats more bristled eyes and frustration over seeing their regional efforts rebuffed by Dukakis's Boston high command. In New York, the state with the second largest bloc of Electoral College votes, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union planned its traditional rally outside the Democratic nominee's Madison Avenue precinct. But wishing to avoid too close a link with labor, Dukakis's aides declined the invitation. Now, New York Democrats are watching in disbelief as his once-mistaken lead in the state has withered. Said Kathleen Dale Janowski, a political communications specialist from the University of Texas, "Can someone who can't manage a campaign manage the country?"

But the blame for Dukakis's faltering campaign is not exclusively his own. When he launched his White House last last year, many Democrats scoffed that at best they had a candidate who could ignore



Kitty Dukakis in New York; Bush (below) at Fort Knox; backbars

confidence in voters about his ability to manage the economy. With polls showing the public's chief concern was the trillion-dollar deficit and its unending growth, the emergence of the so-called Massachusetts miracle seemed a good bet to win the election.

Remedy: But voters in recent campaign polls groups have demonstrated that, after 71 months of continuous economic growth—the longest period of prosperity since the Second World War—they now regard the economy as an increasingly remote concern. A year after the Black Monday stock market crash, 85 per cent of Americans reported that the crisis had no impact on their lives. And even in the troubled East, both states of the industrial Midwest, workers are slowly upgrading a 30-per-cent increase in wages over the past year has opened a career job boom, sending compen-

sation according to upgrade bonuses and housing allowances by 7.7 per cent.

Not in their own interest, then, do the voters seek to shake the national sense of security. Reagan has harnessed his own "evil empire" rhetoric by signing a historic arms-control treaty with Moscow. And with the Soviet Union's pact of Afghanistan and hostilities appearing to end in Angola, most Americans have the impression that, as Schneider puts it, "peace is breaking out everywhere." Added to that are the nation's steadily increased affluence and—nearly two years after the damaging Iran-contra scandal—the restored popularity of America's Republican president.

As a result, Bush is having complacency and overconfidence he fears the perception that he has already won may discourage his supporters from taking the trouble to vote. And as a flurry of live radio interviews, news conferences and new two-hour all-star political style shows as well as a series of television spots, the conventional wisdom that he has already lost—a view that might convince potential voters that their support is futile.

In addition, in recent weeks, Dukakis sides have hardened as an "October surprise," a phrase used during the 1980 campaign to describe a possible release of American hostages held in Iran—which could in turn influence the election. The speculation: this year control on Iran—released from an unrelated Colorado trial—that in October, 1988, Bush himself flew to Tehran to deliver a \$40-million payoff to the Iranian government for the release of the hostages before the balloting. But investigations by both *The Washington Post* and *The Boston Globe* have failed to corroborate the scenario.

Last week, as Dukakis addressed an audience crowd on the steps of Mount Diablo in California, his sales gleamed with resignation at rally buzzards and valiantly reported. One staffer remarked in a report, "You'd have to be crazy not to see that energy in this campaign."

Obituary: But publicly, Dukakis has embraced the media and politicians for prematurely writing his political obituary. "I think the American people are getting tired of being told how they're going to vote," he told a rally in Rockland, N.J., last week. Then, he flew to Independence, Mo., the home of former president



Harry Truman, to raised scores of the 1948 election, when the *Chicago Daily Tribune* published a first-edition headline reading "Dewey defeats Truman"—only to wake up the next morning to find that Truman had won.

The complex arithmetic of the Electoral College—which actually decides American elections—is also swirling against Dukakis. Under the mechanisms of that 199-year-old only, a state's voting power reflects the sum of its population, and whichever candidate wins the popular vote in a given state also reaps its entire harvest of Electoral College votes. A candidate needs 270 of those votes to win the White House. And with population shifts toward the West and the South—which have become Republican strongholds—evidence has mounted that Republicans may have leveraged a so-called lock on the Electoral College. Already, Bush appears poised to repeat that pattern (map, below).

In fact, Bush campaign managers always acknowledge that—using patriotic and low-order means—one of his goals has been to build a political base that will send a Republican to the White House until at least the year 2050. "If George Bush wins the South," said Anshutz, "that will be three consecutive back-to-back victories, and I am convinced that the South will go Republican for the rest of the century." Indeed, if Dukakis's own southern strategy fails on Nov. 8, even many

Democrats are predicting an identity crisis for their party. Some of them are already warning that the left-leaning left from this year's contrast strategy will prefer a "Moonbush"—beginning with elections for the chairmanship of the Democratic national committee. But, said Schneider, an election loss will also force



Dukakis at Naperville High School in Illinois outlined strategy.

Democrats "is look very hard at their values—what they can keep of liberalism, what they can throw out and what they can repackage."

Central: Meanwhile, the Democrats can console themselves with demagogues' predictions that their party will retain control of Congress—certainly the House of Representatives and probably the Senate—until the turn of the century. In fact, that prospect has led

even some conservatives to predict that, should Bush win the White House, he may face more clouds ahead from a hostile Congress. Without Reagan's popularity or communication skills, Bush is unlikely to be able to persuade legislators by threatening to take his case directly to the American people. And the negative tone of his election campaign, said the University of Virginia's Sabato, "may very well shatter his honeymoon with Congress."

Call: Commentators have already sketched the probable cost of a Bush cabinet, including campaign chairman James Baker as secretary of state and former Texas senator John Tower as secretary of defense. That says that, for political scientists, politics to know what shape a Bush presidency would take after eight years in the vice-presidency and a later 36-month campaign, Bush—and his political vision—remain largely a mystery.

James David Barber, the author of *Presidential Character*, points to Bush's past patterns for clues. In a succession of jobs, from director of the CIA to chairman of the Republican National Committee, he has shown a pattern of loyalty to his bosses. "Bush is given to devotion to someone else above him who tells him what to do," says Barber. "So what's he going to do when there's no one above him?" In Barber's view, that character trait could give Bush's aides and underlings undue influence. "His devotion does not necessarily have to go upward," said Barber. "He could then wind up with a President Jim Baker."

Still, as commentators gazed into their crystal balls, some political veterans continued to stress that the campaign could yet change dramatically. And few Americans seemed to be more aware of that than the publisher of *Delany's Book*. On one of his editor's desks sits two faded manuscripts, both titled *The Story of the First President of the United States*—one on Bush and one on Dukakis. But not until the morning of Nov. 6 will he risk publishing one and comparing the other to a living cabinet for future reference.

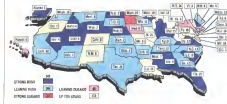
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Washington



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COVER



TWISTS ON THE TRAIL THE CAMPAIGNS' QUIRKS AND BLUNDERS

Most embarrassing photo opportunity
Dukakis on full combat gear riding an M-1 battle tank at the General Dynamics plant outside Detroit. "It's a lot," said the general.

Best line by a running mate
Lloyd Bentsen, after Dan Quayle compared himself to John F. Kennedy in the vice-presidential debate. "Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy."

Worst line by a running mate
Quayle's calling the Holocaust "an obscure

period in our nation's history." Then, trying to recover, explaining, "I didn't live in this century."

Most verbose gaff phrases
Bush: "a kinder, gentler America," "a thousand points of light," and "I want to be the education president."
Dukakis: "good jobs at good wages," "a real war, not a phony war, against drugs," and "the best America is yet to come."

Most shameless photo opportunity
Bush, as a government official, welcoming home five crew members of the

space shuttle Discovery at Edwards air force base in California. Dukakis was not invited, Bush said, because "that would be making a political event out of it."

Most absurd economic promises
Bush: "Road my life, no new taxes."

Worst gifts by any candidate
Bush recounting his years with Ronald Reagan: "We have had triumphs, we have made mistakes, we have had joy—we have had setbacks."

Most often-repeated apophthegm
Dukakis on France's Manuel Noriega: the "drug-running Panamanian dictator."
Bush on Dukakis: "the liberal governor of Massachusetts."



HOW THE CANDIDATES MEASURE UP

| | George Herbert Walker Bush | Michael Stanley Dukakis |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| Height/Weight: | 6'6" tall, two inches, 205 lb. | 5'6" tall, eight inches, 155 lb. |
| Nickname: | Puppy | The Duke |
| Net worth: | \$3.5 million | \$360,000 |
| Transportation to work: | vice-presidential limousine | Boston subway |
| Exercise: | exercise bicycle in his hotel room, jogging | walking while holding weights |
| Favorite foods: | Irish pork ribs with Tabasco sauce | steak chowder |
| Drinks: | milk, occasional margarita or vodka martini | orange soda, occasional glass of white wine |
| Most influential books: | War and Peace by Leo Tolstoy, Catcher in the Rye by J. D. Salinger | The American Mind by Henry David Thoreau |
| Favorite movies: | The Graduate, Charade of Five, Clint Eastwood movies | The Seduction of Joe Tynan, Moonstruck (his cousin, actress Olympia, won an Oscar for it) |
| Favorite actor and actress: | Charlton Heston, Greer Garson | Laurence Olivier, Meryl Streep |
| Favorite musical performers: | Loretta Lynn | Boston Pope (his father-in-law, Harry Ellis Dickson, was saxophone, confused) |

AN ISSUE OF RACE

JESSE JACKSON AND THE BLACK VOTE



The race still rages with the same religious, classist, and ethnic tensions, and the same religious, classist, and ethnic tensions, and the same religious, classist, and ethnic tensions.

These accusations burst into the open two weeks ago when one of Dukakis's top black officials, deputy national field director Donna Brazile—who inaugurated after comments to reporters about Vice President George Bush's personal life—charged that Bush's campaign had "used every code word and racial symbol to package their littlest message." Brazile

the racial politics of the late 1960s." Added Chicago political consultant Donald Ikett, "Nobody is believing 'Nigger' sincerely, but I don't think there is any question as to what it means." Schneider mentioned that as the South, as well as the industrial cities of the North, most of the so-called Black Democrats who have defected to the Republican party were the past two presi-



Jackson in California: accusations that the Bush campaign has knowingly stirred racial fears

spectively attacked television commercials that show how a convicted black murderer named Willie Horton—during a Massachusetts weekend prison-furlough program in 1986—raped a Maryland woman and tortured her husband. "They're using the oldest, most virulent racism to vote for Dukakis," he said. "It means a black man raping a white woman while his husband watches." Last week, Jackson made similar claims. "The use of the Willie Horton example," he charged, "is designed to create the most terrible psychosocial fears."

Racial fears have driven the accusations, that commentators have pointed out that his campaign has also sent subtle racial messages among other code words. Said analyst William Schneider of Washington's conservative American Enterprise Institute: "Crime, gun control, law and order: the whole agenda organized as

racial elections were whites who felt threatened by the growing strength of blacks in the Democratic party."

Only that same blacks blame the Democrats themselves for neglecting old racial wounds. After the humiliating defeat of the party's 1988 nominee, Walter Mondale—for whom many southern leaders refused to campaign—a group of conservatives formed the Democratic Leadership Council to press for a candidate who could win black support at white southern rallies. As some analysts noted, the RLC's acronym, implicitly named issues that appeared to be race-based: "At the bottom of it," said Marie Baker of the University of North Carolina, "they're very quiet questions."

That question created during last April's bitter New York primary battle. Campaigning for the RLC's favored candidate, Transcon-

Senator Albert Gore, outplayed New York City Mayor Ed Koch added fuel to an already inflammatory racial climate by warning that Jews would be "easy" to vote for Jackson, who in 1984 called the city "Babylonian." Now, as the campaign's final days, stress of that racial distrust still lingers with both groups, traditionally the Democrats' core electorate. In New York state, Democratic congressmen have blamed anti-semitic Jewish accusations to deny racism that Dukakis has made a secret backdrop of giving Jackson influence after the election. And in Jackson's home town of Chicago, Carl Borco of the liberal Daily-News Political Action Committee said, "The Republicans are using Jackson to scare Jews away from the Democratic party."

Speaks: Those statements help to explain why Dukakis has tried to keep the former preacher at arm's length. But why blacks say that those tactics reflect outright animosity

that he had chosen Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate—Jackson had sent confusing signals to his followers. The tensions between the two camps, which threatened to split the Democratic convention last July, were smoothed over in an eleven-hour congressional talk, many of Jackson's constituents directly remained skeptical about his closing-race reconciliation, which featured the two men side by side on the Adams stage. Indeed, within its weeks, the decade of co-operation seemed to have shattered. Jackson publicly berated Dukakis for his "obnoxious" use of wing-back white conservative votes. And an aide reported that Jackson was "sneaking" after officials told him not to campaign in at least seven key states—including Georgia, Michigan and Mississippi, which he had won in the Democratic primaries—because his high negative ratings might drive white wing-back away from the party. Jackson also accused

that the white vote for Dukakis because "they didn't recognize Jesse after all the work he did for them." And while a New York Times-CBS News poll last week of registered black voters showed that 70 per cent of respondents support Dukakis over Bush, that number is 14 per cent lower than those who backed Mondale in 1984. In fact, analysts note that Dukakis made a strategic miscalculation in assuming that he could count on the protest black vote, which swung 1988 Senate seats to favor of the Democrats in Alabama, California, Louisiana and North Carolina. In California, the Democrats had no personal record on civil rights. And after ending most black stop-goals to Jackson during the primaries, he endorsed the bill campaign staff as evidence figures to Jackson's own defeat. Said Representative Charles Hayes, a veteran black Chicagoan who under the Democrats no longer takes the black vote for granted:



Voices in North Carolina: 'Blacks have more to lose in this election than anybody'

Now, as Dukakis's southern strategy lies in tatters—a reality he acknowledged by pulling most of his staff out of the South last month—he has made belated efforts to mend racial fences. On Oct. 21, less than three weeks before the election, he scheduled his first black campaign event as his most subdued television appearance of the day: a visit to Harlem's First African Methodist Episcopal Church, where he sang wondrously to gospel hymns and told the sparse crowd, "I'm on your side."

Applauding: Jackson has not concealed his glow in posting out to southern conservatives Democrats that their electoral blueprint has failed. Proactively challenging his leaders to match his own campaign efforts, he told them to "put your arm and go to work." And he has launched a \$4-million series of tours, TV

and print ads, warning blacks to vote for Dukakis, as well as to vote for Bush. In one he told them that Reagan's justice department staff has led the assault on civil rights gains and that, over the past eight years, the gap between black and white family incomes has widened by three per cent, creating a growing black urban underclass need in poverty.

Gives those gains realizations—and the alarming nature of them—has been by the party's campaign—other black leaders have joined him, not in trying to sell Dukakis, but in appealing to black Americans to protect their own interests by voting for Bush. One of the speakers was Rev. Jesse Jackson. "Too much is at stake. Blacks have more to lose in this election than anybody."

MARCI McDONALD is in Washington



Anderson on Capitol Hill: Bush and Dukakis suffer 'an excess of control'

A WARY GLANCE TO THE SOUTH

CANADIANS SIZE UP THE U.S. CAMPAIGN



In each country, they were regarded as the pivotal engagements of the election campaign. But few events better demonstrated the differences between presidential politics in the United States and the three-year contest for the office of Canadian prime minister than the two sets of televised candidates' debates. During those hours of relatively dispassionate disputation between George Bush and Michael Dukakis on Sept. 13 and Oct. 13, only persons unfamiliar with the strains audience members the carefully crafted campaign rhetoric. There was none of the crackling hostility—and less of the pointed dissection of issues—that rewarded those who sat through last week's six hours of confrontation in French and English between Brian Mulroney, John

Turner and Edward Broadbent. And most Canadians who saw both sets of debates seemed to agree with Tory pollster Allan Gregg, of Toronto's Decima Research Ltd.: Said Gregg "I thought one won way better."

Reality. That assessment could be challenged. Pointing to the theatrical context that marked the Canadian debates, Linda Dyer, a Moose-John politician who is now based in Fredericton, cheered that "bellying and finger-pointing are not my idea of better." Still, the debates reflected clear differences of political structure as well as style. On one level, Canadian politicians exercise their debating skills in daily exchanges during Question Period in the Commons—a feature of Canadian political life that has no counterpart in Washington. And campaign analysts point to other distinctions, from the larger proportion of Canadians who

cast ballots to the kind of issues that influence their choices.

At the same time, Canada's campaign strategies borrow heavily from techniques pioneered in the United States—including the debates themselves. Tory Liberal and NDP back rooms buzz with talk made in the U.S.A. phrasms as "hot-button issues," "spin doctor" and "sound bite." To many critics, that propensity to adopt American election techniques has substantial and clearly quantifiable risks. In one widely held view, the damaging distractions of so-called attack ads—negative advertising aimed at a political opponent's perceived weaknesses—have contributed to a spreading cynicism and apathy among American voters, many of whom are opting out of the presidential election process, and it's foolish to do the same damage to Canada's different, party-secretary system. "The United States troubles everything," declared Stephen Lewis, a former leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party and for four years, until last July, Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. "It will eventually trouble our politics as it has troubled its own."

Triumph. Last week, however, the differences between the two national campaigns were more evident than the similarities. After the staged and choreographed U.S. debate, the three Canadian leaders challenged each other in an unscripted language that was often blunt and acrimoniously angry. Said Gregg: "The Bush-Dukakis debate was a triumph of compromise over substance [the Canadian debate] in the midst of profound differences of policy, emotion, motive and perspective on the world. As a Canadian, I thought I got full value."

There are several reasons for the lower electricity level of the American presidential election debate. The format, insisted upon by leaders of the media-prone Bush, left all the questioning to those reporters and little room for the two candidates to confront each other directly. That choice was in keeping with the larger debate of U.S. democracy—whether in Congress near the White House are politicians obliged to mount short-notice, Question Period-style defenses of their policies. In addition, Republicans charge that Dukakis's policies are to the left of the American mainstream; the Massachusetts governor, known for developing his ideological differences with Bush. But the differences between the U.S. and Canadian campaigns are more substantial than the stylistic counterpart of the debates. Crime, drugs and military security—the issues that preoccupy American voters—raise little

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COVER

interest among Canadians more concerned with jobs, national identity and the future of social programs under free trade. In fact, political analysts have traditionally said that Canadian voters are less ideological than Americans and more concerned with social issues. Named former Conservative MP Ronald Atkey, now a Toronto lawyer and still a Tory campaign adviser: "You cannot go to the extreme right in Canada." Just as surely, at least on a national level, a candidate cannot go to the extreme left in the United States.

Problem: A more profound distinction will only become clear when the ballots are counted. While roughly three-quarters of the Canada electorate is expected to vote on Nov. 30—the same percentage that voted in 1984—many forecasts predict that fewer than one-half of Americans eligible to cast ballots on Nov. 3 will actually do so. One reason is the complexity of voting in the United States. U.S. citizens must first register to vote several weeks in advance of the election and then confront ballots that may contain as many as 30 names of candidates for various local, state and federal posts. Another reason, analysts suggest, is the widespread U.S. belief—at least among Republicans and their representatives—that government is not a solution to people's problems; rather, as President Reagan has said, "Government is the problem." By contrast, observed GOP federal secretary Wilbur Knight: "Canadians fundamentally do believe that government can act the agenda."

American voters may still simply be perplexed by what most Canadians—and many Americans—regard as the most damaging feature of the U.S. campaign, the use of "attack ads." Negative television advertising has been used before in other elections and on both sides of the border, but seldom have the attacks been as personal or as pointed. The most chilling examples of the national campaign in the United States have been produced by the Bush camp. In one example, cassette—many of them black or Hispanic—go up and out of a revolving door while an announcer accuses Gov. Dukakis of releasing murderers from Massachusetts' prisons on weekend passes. The ads have provoked debate among Americans—did they last week devoted several pages to the pros and cons of the technique—but they have also fueled Bush's comparatively large surge in a substantial lead in the polls.

Attack: Canadian political leaders say that latest attack ads are unlikely to appear in Canada. "Clearly," said Michael Robinson, chief financial officer for the Liberal party and a key campaign adviser, "all the Canadian parties have avoided the kind of advertising that we have seen down there. That kind of character assassination would be deadly in Canada." GOP campaign director Robert Sears, noting that his party has also rejected the technique, observed: "There is a civility in Canadian public life which has disappeared in the United States." For that part, Conservative strategists have a contingency plan for negative ads but they have not ordered them produced.

According to Atkey, they have not been needed. "Toronto's own party has done the job for us," he said.

Tactics: But with few exceptions, most other election tactics imported for U.S. campaigns have found their way into Canadian news. "The skill level down there is awesome," remarked Grigg. "Largely because it is the most conservative political context in the world. We borrow from it all the time." In fact, such as national congressional election, state and local races for positions from governor to dog-

blocked out the public's view of the candidates themselves. "Both these candidates are suffering an excess of control in their camps," said Richard Anderson, a Canadian who managed Donald Johnston's 1984 campaign for the Liberal leadership and who now works as a lobbyist in Washington. "They have both been robbed of any confidence in their ability to be spontaneous." Meanwhile, pollsters say that the new popularity of attack ads will discourage even more Americans from voting, while dissuading others from running for of-



Atkey: unlike in U.S. politics, 'you cannot go to the extreme right in Canada'

catcher—as well as months of primaries leading up to the race for the presidency—the United States likely more despises than most other countries. The presence of a large number of independent political consultants has also contributed to the hectic chaos for candidates.

One recent development has excited the admiration of Canadian political observers in all three parties: the ability of U.S. campaigns to tailor political communications to the concerns of very specific groups of voters. Illustrative: the GOP's focus. "They know how to find the 30-year-old single male yuppie, to pick the message that is important to that individual and make the media buy that will reach him."

That the American campaign techniques are effective is evident. Whether they are good for democracy—or even for politics—is less clear. As the media campaign sides have grown to include pollsters, "spin doctors" (party members who try to influence media accounts of candidates' performances), workshop consultants and dirt-diggers, they have increasingly

few—with worrisome consequences for the future. "What happens in a democracy if candidates don't run?" Dyck asked. "Or if people don't turn out to vote? That is what is happening in the United States, and that new political class could bring in Canada."

Liberal: But Liberal adviser Robinson, for one, observed that Canada's lower limits on campaign spending discourage its politicians from emulating the more grotesque excesses of American political campaigning. "We should take some comfort in this country that ours is a far healthier political process than in the United States," Robinson said. "We don't need \$15 million to get elected." It was also clear, from the bruising year of last week's debate, that whatever else Canada's campaigns might owe to the U.S. model of media politics, they had nothing to learn—and possibly something to teach—about the hacklesome art of political posturing.

COVER STORY with JEFFREY MACKENZIE in Ottawa



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GREENING THE PROFITS

COMPANIES ARE FINDING THAT SELLING ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH IMPROVES THE EARNINGS CURVE

Patrick Carson, recently installed vice-president of environmental issues and supplies for the Loblaw's supermarket chain, points to a copy of the *Greenfield* report on the environment, released last year by a United Nations commission. But he is not talking about its celebrated contents. Instead, he is noting that its preliminary white pages have probably been bleached with dangerous chemicals to make them more attractive. With the firm of a recent convert to the cause, Carson responds to his company's commitment to reduce waste and toxicity in the environment. The popular supermarket chain is conducting a full line of so-called environmentally friendly products, to be sold under the new Nature's Choice. For Loblaw's, the environmental message is also good business. Says Carson: "If the market's there, let's take advantage of it."

The initiative is an irrefutable meeting of the profit motive and environmental sensitivity, and Loblaw's is not alone in realizing their compatibility. Many well-known Canadian companies are becoming sensitive to a total wave of consumer concerns about the environment and dangerous chemicals present in products they use every day. Last week, federal health department researchers announced that they had found dioxin in Ontario milk packages in north-western Ontario. For their part, manufacturers are taking advantage of the fact that individuals are not only choosing the change, they are willing to pay for it. As a result, retailers are promoting more all-natural products and encouraging customers to recycle bags and bottles. Many

of widely used non-plastic products—coffee cups, paint trays and fast-food containers—are now producing alternatives that do not use ozone-damaging chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). The plastics industry is producing new compounds that dissipate within a few months or years, instead of centuries. And behind the scenes, genetic chemical producers, including Du Pont Canada Inc., are spending millions looking for alternatives to a wide range of potentially dangerous substances. Other companies are switching back to pa-



Carson: a trendy new line of products

per based packaging from plastics. But paper products can pose environmental threats of their own. Many scientists say that chemicals used to bleach paper produce dioxin. The Canadian Paper and Paper Association responded to the federal milk canister study by launching a testing program to determine the level of dioxin produced by the industry. But industry spokesmen say that producers need two more years to stop their mills from contaminating paper products with dioxin. For his part, National Dairy Council president Kenneth Metz said that, although the federal government has

declared the milk sale, the aim is the "total elimination of contaminants."

Over the past year, rising consumer concerns with the environment has focused attention on dangerous chemicals in food, personal care and water—and incited millions of piles of garbage. A study conducted by Winnipeg publisher August Rod Associates Inc. in September found that a staggering 85 per cent of Canadians surveyed ranked the environment as very important, and four out of five said that they were willing to pay more for such items as hamburgers and candy in degradable wrappers. In a sharp rebuke to business, only 13 per cent said that private industry contributes to solving environmental problems. Some critics say that the commitment of most businesses to environmental protection is still too few. Toronto-based Pollution Probe researcher Pamela Miller and businesses that become involved with environmental issues are taking advantage of the potential for profit. Said Miller: "It's a great marketing ploy right now."

But some businesses are moving at high speed to correct what spokesman acknowledge are great mistakes. Toronto-based Lily Crop Inc. is the largest supplier of disposable food-service containers in Canada and its clients include McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd. and 5-Diners Food Stores. In a change-over that has taken only four weeks to complete, Lily has switched from CFC-based products to an "ozone-friendly alternative compound." Lily vice-president of marketing John Bell said that the change was made to large part because of increased public concern over the environment, particularly in the past few or five months. He added, "Since the switch was announced, we have received many calls from individuals thanking us."

McDonald's reports began staying busy to eliminate the company's own use of CFC-based food containers two years ago. The mammoth chain with \$1.2 billion worth of fast food a year in Canada alone will, said recently, most of its hamburger cases moved to other, less-chlorinated shells made with CFCs. But it has been gradually switching to other materials over the past year and will be "100 per cent CFC-free" by the end of this month, according to vice-president Peter Bristow. He said that the company's customers will look the same and cost slightly more, but the increase will not be passed on to consumers. Bristow added that public pressure was one factor that prompted the change. According to Bristow, "McDonald's use of CFCs is a fraction of a fraction of a percentage point of the problem with the cause." Reaction by individual companies to environmental concern has produced a kind of snowball effect. Changes at one company often led to changes at a competitor or a supplier. Many producers of CFC-based products would not have been able to find an alternative without outside pressure by the Du Pont in its search for CFC substitutes. Du Pont has earned billions from the sale of CFCs, which are used in connection with a wide array of products, including electronic circuitry, refrigeration equipment, medical supplies including blood

storage bags, drugs and contact lenses, furniture and automobile lawn oxidation, and aerosol sprays. Now company officials say that Du Pont hopes to erase all CFC production—although they could not guarantee that this would happen even by the end of the century.

Food retailers have been particularly sensitive to changing consumer demands, and their mammoth size has been instrumental in forcing change. Prolog Inc., a Quebec-based grocery chain, with about 1,500 retail-food outlets across Canada, including convenience stores and other subsidiaries, was one of the first to reinvent its products. More than a year ago, Prolog responded to inquiries from Green-based environmental group Friends of the

Carson acknowledges that biodegradability may not be the whole or the right answer to huge volumes of garbage. Recycling is likely to be even more important, and the company now tells customers that they can bring their own shopping bags to the store.

A few businesses have avoided having to make massive changes by starting out with an environmentally conscious attitude. The Daily Shop is a British-owned retail franchise that markets state-of-the-art products in 200 stores around the world. More than 60 are in Canada. Company officials say that there are no environmentally harmful chemicals in any of the chain's products—none of which is tested on animals—and all of its own plastic bottles



Selling biodegradable options at the Body Shop: consumers are spending more

Earth by eliminating CFC-based coffee cups and other items from store shelves and telling suppliers that they must find substitutes for other CFC-based packaging by the end of the year. Prolog's sheer buying power helped ensure co-operation, says Prolog spokesman Kathy Mcgregor. She added, "We can demand certain specifications."

But some companies are finding that the rush to protect the environment does not always lead to the right solution. Although Loblaw offers biodegradable garbage bags and asserts that they are popular with customers,

they are reluctant to let the stores be recycled. Said Canadian president Hugué Frenette: "We do have such power to change attitudes—look how an infinitesimal what people wear, what they eat—and most are not caught in the right way." But there are increasing signs that those rules are in a process of readjustment. More and more, consumers are exerting their own, far-reaching influence over the marketplace. And business is listening.

PATRICIA CHRISTOUL with JOHN DALY in Toronto

Business Notes

BATTLES FOR FYE

The fight for the FYE Club is not over. The 100-unit, \$1.2-million Toronto-based 50-shop chain will spend \$115 million for the Part Mille, S.C., club's assets, which include a 504-room hotel and a shopping mall. But FYE's creditors have asked a U.S. court to consider a rival bid from Vancouver-based businessman Victor Thomas, who is offering to match Mosaic's bid.

OTTAWA FINANCES McDONNELL

The federal government has agreed to lend McDonald Douglas Canada Ltd. \$31.5 million to help finance the production of 600 units for McDonnell's new 10-11 aircraft at its North Toronto plant.

WILDO MAKES A SPLASH

Carsten Wildo, double Olympic gold medalist in synchronized swimming, has teamed up with Sears Canada Inc. to launch a new line of recreational and active-wear clothing. Company officials say that Wildo will help to help to help the \$200-million sportswear market.

SOVIETS WILL SELL SHARES

The Soviet government plans to sell shares in its state enterprises, and will eventually have a stock market. Both Soviet citizens and foreigners will be able to buy shares, and even hold controlling interests in Soviet enterprises.

FARM INCOME EQUALS RECORD

Despite the nation's drought, the income of Canadian farmers will reach about \$5.5 billion this year, equalling the record set a year ago. Earnings rose because of high grain prices and crop insurance payments.

INSURERS CUT BACK

Co-operators General Insurance Co., Ontario's largest co-insurer, says that it will stop selling new car insurance in the Metropolitan Toronto area because of losses are too high. The company says that it is paying out \$1.58 in claims and expenses for every dollar it collects in premium in the Toronto area.

THE SINK AND THE FARM

The amount of Saskatchewan farmland owned by the Royal Bank of Canada has tripled in the past year to 118,840 acres. Cash-strapped lenders turned the land over to the bank.

U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH SLUMPS

U.S. economic growth slowed to its annual rate of 2.2 per cent between July and September from three per cent in the second quarter.



Processing cookies at RJK Nabisco Johnson (below): the biggest buy-out ever

Swallowing competition

Surplus cash is fuelling new takeovers

It is business capitalism at its most dramatic. The wave of huge corporate takeovers and leveraged buy-outs sweeping through North America in recent weeks has caught even the financial world by surprise. On Monday, Oct. 30, New York City investment house Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co. announced a record-breaking \$24 billion offer for RJK Nabisco Inc., the 19th-largest industrial company in the United States. In the process, Kohlberg raised an earlier \$20-billion proposal made by the Salomon management group, which is led by Winnipeg-born chief executive officer Ross Johnson. And merger mania is also threatening to engulf such high-profile household names as Kraft Inc. and Pillsbury Inc., and a broad swath of Canadian financial analysts say that over the biggest companies in the United States are no longer immune to being swallowed up.

Fuelling much of the takeover pressure are depressed stock prices, which make it cheaper for expansion-minded corporations to simply go out and buy companies than to build them. At the same time, some firms are being forced to merge and consolidate to meet stepped-up global competition in their industries. As well, leveraged buyout artists like Kohlberg have been able to make huge profits by borrowing heavily to buy control of companies and then selling off the same company's assets and paying their debts. But the surge in takeovers has also led companies, including Canadian

stated giant Inco Ltd. of Toronto, to design complicated and expensive restructuring plans—so-called poison pills—in an attempt to stop hostile takeover attempts.

The takeover drive also raises the issue of



whether the economy benefits from such transactions. Last week, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, said that the rising use of debt-financed leveraged buy-outs could leave the economy vulnerable if a recession occurs because lenders would be saddled with bad loans, and companies that had launched takeovers would face heavy debt loads that could force them into bankruptcy.

And a decision last week to postpone a \$1.29-billion issue of high-yield, high-risk "junk bonds" designed to finance Cangeva Corp.'s earlier takeover of Federated Department Stores Inc. indicates that a revival of willingness to continue to finance highly leveraged deals may be doubtful.

For now, though, the takeover campaign shows no signs of slowing down. According to Toronto management consultants Eberhart-Bentley Ltd., the total value of merger mergers and acquisitions in Canada during the first half of 1988 was \$15 billion—about as much as the \$27.9 billion that occurred during all of 1987. Meanwhile, in the United States, the takeover action is running at a record \$294-billion pace for the first nine months of 1988.

The pool of takeover capital available to buy undervalued assets appears to be almost bottomless. American investment and commercial banks, trust companies, insurance companies and junk-bond investors are lining up to provide capital. In contrast, most Canadian merger and acquisition capital is raised through private share placements with other corporations. By taking that approach, Canadian corporations have been able to avoid heavy bank financing and debt. But the situation is changing in Canada. To finance its pension-fund hedge, Inco may have to borrow \$600 million from Canadian and U.S. banks.

The takeovers will likely continue to offset an underlying slack market weakness and even help drive prices upward. In fact, David Derman, president of the New York City investment advisory firm Derman Weiss Management Inc., estimates that merger and acquisition activity may account for up to 25 per cent of trading on the New York Stock Exchange. Meanwhile, analysts say that Kohlberg's \$24-billion offer for Nabisco indicates that companies that used to be considered too big to swallow may now become takeover targets. Among the possibilities, Derman said, are Chrysler Corp., Digital Equipment Corp. and X-Mark Inc. Recently, analysts at such major Wall Street investment firms as Bear Stearns & Co. Inc., Merrill Lynch Capital Markets, Shearman Latham & Horton Inc. and Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. issued reports that provided their customers with the backdrop value of companies in the food, energy and metals industries—just in case they wanted to buy or sell assets as part of a leveraged buy-out. Declared Derman, "As long as the feeding frenzy continues, anything is possible."

The biggest specialists say that takeovers are an ideal way of dislodging inefficient or incompetent executives and of forcing existing managers to maximize profits. But critics insist that they are merely exercises in paper shuffling that do not increase overall productive capacity in the economy. They said that concerns about a takeover may cause managers to sacrifice worthy long-term goals in favor of short-term profits and financing poison pills. It is a debate that seems destined to become even more heated.

JOHN DeMORTY and JOHN DALY in Toronto



THE EMOTIONAL SPACE OF FINEST WINE



The Human Energy Behind Nuclear Energy

Erich Kintz is a graduate of West Humber Collegiate. He joined Ontario Hydro's Nuclear Training Program in 1976 and qualified as a licensed first operator in August 1985. He is seen here, with his family at Montgomery Park adjacent to the Pickering Generating Station. They live about three kilometers from the station.

Nuclear Energy in Canada SAFETY BY DESIGN

"This is where I work. My family and I enjoy living in this community. I care about my family and I care about my work."

Operator Erich Kintz is one of 65 licensed operators working shifts at the Pickering Nuclear Generating Station east of Toronto. He is in charge of the operation of one of the station's eight nuclear reactors.

"The massive reinforced concrete buildings you see in the background are for only one purpose: to protect station staff and this community. If equipment fails or if we make a mistake, these buildings are there to prevent radioactive releases from leaving the site."

Fall Safe Design

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Safety First

Recently, the International Atomic Energy Agency sent experts from all over the world to perform a comprehensive safety review of operations at Pickering. "We rate very highly in the eyes of the world. When it comes to safety, we never take anything for granted."

Since CANDU started generating electricity in 1962, there has been one fundamental operating principle: Safety comes first.

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"This is a safe place to work and to live. If it wasn't, my family wouldn't be here. Why not drop by Pickering or one of the other CANDU stations in Canada and judge for yourself?"

For more information please contact:
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What free trade will mean to shoppers

When Kim Ropley has to buy milk, meat or beer, she rarely shops other than the town of St. Stephen, N.B., a community of 5,200, 106 km west of Saint John. Instead, Ropley, 37, the town's assistant treasurer, says that she crosses the St. Croix River to Calais, Me., where better milk, beef and meat are available at much lower prices than at home. Every day, thousands of Canadians make similar trips to the United States for lower-priced food, gas, clothing

and more efficient and competitive. Alexander McKeown, president of the Retail Council of Canada, which represents 5,500 merchants, says that imports and domestic productivity gains should combine to reduce prices by an average of five per cent over the 10-year phase-in period. Furniture and clothing prices are expected to fall marginally, but the prices of food and footwear will likely be unaffected by free trade. Canadian consumers could benefit from an influx of new retailers from the United

States. The 75 stores in the shopping centre are all discount outlets for specific manufacturers and offer deep discounts of 30 to 70 per cent below regular retail prices, he said. An assistant manager for the mall's Bestway outlet, which sells clothing designed or produced in Italy, said that Canadian shoppers frequently remove the price tags in order to avoid having to pay duty on their purchases. As well, they often wear their new clothes home and put the old clothing in the trunks of their cars.

Bargain hunters from the Vancouver area also drive across the Canada-U.S. border every day, primarily to buy cheaper gasoline and dairy products in Washington state. Thomas Low, communications manager for the 2,600-member, Borden-based Fraser Valley Milk Producers Co-operative Association, said that the B.C. dairy industry is losing \$50 million to \$75 million in sales yearly to U.S. co-ops. Low said that B.C. consumers can save 40 to 50 per cent by purchasing milk and cheese in Washington even after converting their money to American funds. He added that some supermarkets can keep a 10/100 opening all day moving crates of milk from trucks to store shelves in order to keep up with Canadian demand. "We have to see it to believe it."

Under the proposed free trade agreement, shopping in the United States will remain as attractive an alternative for Canadians, said one federal official involved in the trade negotiations. The official, who asked not to be named, said that the current \$25-to-\$30 traveller's exemption will remain unchanged. He said that the government will announce a catalog on the traveller's exemption so that it can continue to collect duties even as they are phased out under free trade and to collect duties and provincial sales taxes after duties have



B.C. resident Sharon Lynch loading up with milk in Blaine, Wash.: cheaper goods in America

and other consumer goods even though they must clear customs. Most retail industry experts concede that cross-border shopping will continue even if the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement becomes law. But they also say that the deal will result in more retailers and slightly lower prices within Canada. Said Fredrik Dalton, president and chairman of the Toronto-based T. Eaton Co. Ltd. "All the evidence points to the fact that prices will be lower."

According to most industry experts, the elimination of tariffs over a 10-year period will increase the availability of imported U.S. consumer goods and force Canadian manufactur-

ers under free trade; several experts say. The elimination of tariffs will also make cross-border shopping increasingly attractive. But only U.S.-made goods will qualify for duty-free entry to Canada. Goods with the current duty and sales tax exemptions, which range from \$20 worth of merchandise for a one-day visit to \$300 for a seven-day trip, shopping in the United States is already enormously popular among Canadians. John Hensberry, general manager of the Fort York Outlet Mall in the border community of Niagara Falls, N.Y., said that Canadians account for about three-quarters of the mall's annual sales, although he would not disclose

figures. A Canada Customs official said that Canadian consumers will be able to bring back U.S. cigarettes and alcohol duty-free but probably will not save very much money since they have paid federal and provincial sales taxes. The number of bargains on other types of consumer goods across the border will put pressure on Canadian merchants to reduce their prices as tariffs come down, said the trade official. He added, "Over the long run, I suspect a lot of the savings will be passed on to consumers."

Besides lowering prices, the elimination of duties and some import quotas under the trade deal will also allow retailers to import products

"It really came down to one question: Was our future important enough to invest in?"



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previously available in Canada. Cary Denon, executive vice-president of Toronto-based Singapore Ltd., said that with the removal of existing quotas, retailers may begin importing high-quality American towels and towels bed sheets. Denon also said that removing tariffs will probably have a greater impact on prices of top-quality merchandise.

In one case, dining room tables from North and South Carolina, where some of the world's top furniture manufacturers are based, now sell for up to \$10,000. Denon said that prices for such goods could be cut by 30 per cent with the removal of tariffs. And retailers should be able to bring down the price of American designer clothing for women by similar amounts. He added that, with lower prices and new lines of exclusively priced merchandise, Canadian retailers will be better able to attract domestic shoppers. Said Denon: "The amount of money [now] spent by Canadians on the United States is staggering, but we have no idea how much it is because we have never tried to get our hands on that information."

But others expect far less optimism that the trade accord will produce significant savings or benefits for Canadian consumers. Michael Trotter, executive vice-president of the Ottawa-



West Edmonton Mall: more variety on the store shelves

based Canadian Apparel Manufacturers Institute, said that the agreement does provide for the elimination of Canada's 14- to 25-per-cent tariffs on American clothing over a 10-year period. But Canadian and American garments

with outside fabric from short countries will not qualify for duty-free treatment, a concession demanded by the U.S. textile industry. American textile manufacturers, according to Trotter, were attempting to protect their share of the North American apparel market.

Trotter noted that about 40 per cent of Canadian produced clothing, and 30 per cent of U.S. products, contain offshore fabrics. As a result, the prices of those garments will not be affected by the deal. Trotter said he added that Canadian consumers should at least benefit from lower prices on a wider variety of cotton-based products, including T-shirts, underwear and men's dress shirts.

The selection and price of shoes available to Canadians will also remain largely unchanged by the deal, according to both retailers and manufacturers. Sharon Mahoney, president of

If you count down the minutes to your morning break...



ZOOM

BUSINESS

the Toronto-based Canadian Shoe Retailers Association, said that Canada's 20-per-cent tariff on U.S.-made shoes will be eliminated over 10 years. But third-country manufacturers, primarily in Italy, Spain, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea, control 70 per cent of shoe sales in Canada and 90 per cent of the U.S. market.

Under the so-called adjustment transformation rules in the trade deal, shoes from these countries would not qualify for duty-free treatment, even if assembled in North America, because most of the work on them is performed offshore. Because of that, offshore domestic, domestic shoe-makers in Canada and the United States do not have the product lines to take advantage of the elimination of tariffs against each other. Mulvey noted that U.S. manufacturers do control one niche in their own market—high-priced shoes for men. As a result, they should be in a position to increase production and export more of their output to Canada.

With some exceptions, Canadian furniture manufacturers also foresee little advantage for consumers under free trade. Claude Jutra, president of the Canadian Council of Furniture

Manufacturers, said that the 15-per-cent tariff on U.S. goods will be removed over five years. But he added that his organization forecasts only a two-per-cent reduction in furniture prices over a 10-year period, which could be wiped out by inflation or tax increases because member companies will be forced to upgrade their equipment and replace their product lines in order to survive. Jutra also said that the Canadian industry could be devastated if U.S. competitors begin exporting discount-based lines or otherwise unload inventory in Canada, where consumers would certainly buy such goods at discounted prices. But any move to dump merchandise in Canada could result in an official Canadian government protest to Washington.

Canadian consumers may benefit from increased selection, new products and fresh retail concepts if American companies decide to move into the country under free trade. Gordon Ansell, president of Toronto-based Trades Centre Inc., which owns 29 shopping centres across Canada, said that he has already talked to those American retailers who are interested in moving to Canada. He added that he has



Excuse, lower prices

previously talked to other U.S. retailers who were interested in Canada but who dropped their plans after experiencing anti-American sentiments from Canadian nationalists. Retail council president McKelvie said that shopping centre developers may try to lure U.S. specialty retailers to Canada in order to add some variety to their malls. But McKelvie "It would add to the competitive mix and make life difficult for Canadian retailers."

Although there are varying views on the impact of free trade on consumers, most manufacturers, retailers and industry analysts agree that selection will probably increase greatly, while prices will fall only marginally. Predicting price reductions is difficult because tariffs on most goods will be eliminated only over several years, and prices can also be affected by wages and exchange-rate fluctuations.

For his part, Robert Kerrin, an economist at the University of Waterloo in Ontario and an adviser to the Consumers Association of Canada, said that the government was more concerned with guaranteed access to the U.S. market than with reducing consumer prices. As a result, most economic analyses of the agreement have failed to find major potential benefits to individuals, Kerrin said. But others contend that the major benefits to Canadian consumers under free trade may be greater jobs and steady incomes rather than drastically lower retail prices.

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Sparkling mysteries

A diamond rush excites Saskatchewan

Diamonds. The word rapped through the air last August in the tiny town of Prince Albert, Sask., where a pioneering mining firm called Monopros Ltd. digging in an isolated gravel pit 42 km northwest of the city. When local contractor Boris Maschur drove past the site in September, he was surprised to see dozens of people busily separating greenish-grey rocks out of the gravel. The mystery was resolved when Maschur described the rocks to a geologist and told him the name of the company conducting the exploratory work. Declared the geologist, "Monopros works for De Beers. They are looking for diamonds." And last week, the presence of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.—the giant South African diamond-mining firm—drew the interest of colonized Vancouver mining promoter Murray (The Pea) Pecan. The firm promptly signed an agreement to explore a vast tract of land near the pit.

Monopros' Saskatchewan operations have been shrouded in secrecy since it started claims in June, 1987, and began actual excavation in May, 1988. But reports that it had discovered kimberlite—the green-tinted rock formation in which diamonds are sometimes found—circulated quickly through Saskatchewan. And the secret presence of an affiliate of South Africa-based De Beers, the world's largest diamond exploiter and owner conglomerate, has touched off the biggest chattering match in Saskatchewan in decades. The diamond rush has even spread to the nearby Sturgeon Lake Indian reserve, where Indian leaders are now considering offers for the right to explore on the land. And Prince's Toronto-based International Corona Resources Ltd., a large Canadian gold-mining firm, fanned further excitement when it signed a joint-venture agreement with Saskatchewan-based Claude Resources Inc. to explore 35,000 acres near Sturgeon Lake.

Monopros is generating much of the speculation with its secretive exploration programs. The gravel pit has been fenced off and is patrolled by guard dogs. As well, although the Kimberley find is widely known, the company has retained requests by the provincial government and *Maclean's*, among others, to release information on its operations. The low-profile company has even established its own separation facility at an unmarked warehouse in Prince Albert's south end. Said Ralph Christie, manager of the Saskatchewan Mining

Association, "Monopros is a mystery. It works quietly on its own."

Even so, according to provincial government figures, more than 340,000 acres have been staked in the area west of Prince Albert during



Monopros research centre in Prince Albert. Peas (below) treasure hunt in the bush

the past six months. By far, the largest claim is held by Uranium Exploration and Mining Ltd., the Canadian subsidiary of a large West German mining company. Estimates say that Uranium's 300,000 acres disclosed "good indications of kimberlite," says Gerhard Kirchhof, a Uranium senior vice-president.

But that does not mean that Monopros or Uranium has unearthed a major diamond deposit. Geologists say that there are roughly 5,000 kimberlite formations in the world, but only about 50 contain commercially-sized quantities of gem-quality diamonds. Still, the Saskatchewan diamond rush could prove age-old theories that commercial-sized diamonds exist in Canada.

In fact, when Jacques Carlier returned home after claiming Canada for the French in 1535, he brought back legends of sparkling

stones revealing demands, which he had discovered on the site of what is now Montreal. They turned out to be unimportant stones. And ever since then, the phrase "a mine is a diamond from Canada" has been used by the French to describe something that is not genuine.

And diamond fever has gripped northern Saskatchewan: before 1963, a former corner from the Prince Albert postoffice once sparkled a claim, only when he realized that he was convinced that there were diamonds near Prince Albert, De Beers, meanwhile, has been in Canada since

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Canada's largest investor goes to war

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Canada's largest investor is not a businessman or a business but an unelected and relatively unknown Montreal contractor privateer named Jean Campeau. An obscure and general manager of the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, he manages a portfolio valued at \$30 billion, almost double its worth only six years ago. The citrine has grown so massive and powerful that some days, its trades account for 30 per cent of the turnover on the Montreal Stock Exchange.

Campeau's influence is about to be tested because, along with nearly every institutional investor in the country, he is strangely opposed to Inco Ltd.'s plan to swallow itself. Next month, the metal company will ask shareholders to approve a plan to deliberately double its debt in an effort to perpetuate Campeau's control. The plan involves paying its 35,000 shareholders a special \$1.85-billion dividend in return for approving a complete set of measures that would make it prohibitively expensive to acquire the company without approval of its unelected board of directors. The contest, which over 3.2 million shares of Inco (worth about \$114 million), is opposed to the mining company's stated intent of using the value of its debt to help pay for its own share repurchases while its shareholders, and in entering other financial transactions to halt the power grab.

As well as its impressive history holding in Inco, the cause is the largest single owner of the blue-chip stock Canadian Pacific and holds shares of between 30 and 30 per cent of 30 other major Canadian corporations, including Caisse Massie, John Labatt, Menzies Data, Vidéotron, Power Financial, Pragma and Skyline Resources. The cause's portfolio is expanding at a rate of about \$2 billion a year. At its current growth rate—and as a quasi-governmental agency, its profits are tax-free—the cause is almost too powerful. The big is backed as a dominant decision-maker within the entire Canadian business context, not

Campeau's clout will be tested because, with so many other institutional buyers, he is opposed to Inco Ltd.'s plan to swallow itself

merely the Québec one as it now the case.

The most controversial aspect of the cause's operations is its mandated purpose of promoting the economic evolution of its home province, by investing in Québec companies, providing local mortgage and real estate funds, as well as being the resident of buyers for government and Hydro-Québec bonds. "There is probably no big difference between the way private equity companies work and the way we enter a situation," says chairman Campeau. "It's not a matter of big corporate money, you do your best to make a profit and, at the same time, benefit the community in which you're investing. This philosophy is very simple: profitability closely connected with support of the Québec economy. If a situation isn't likely to bring a good return, we won't invest in it, though we sometimes consider the very long term."

His fiscal results confirm Campeau's thesis. Since he took over in 1986 for a 16-year term, he has posted the once-a-year fund into a doubling company's annual returns of 14.3 per cent, a full point above the annual growth of Canadian pension funds. But the controversy stems, how can anyone run an independent portfolio when the public good or its absence

determines final investment decisions? "There's never a conflict," said Campeau, "because even when we look at a proposition that's dissimilar to the province, we won't make the investment unless it's also profitable. Our main connection with Québec City is that the government appoints our directors, but we feel independent of both the public and private sectors—and both are equally important."

The Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec was born out of the stormy mid-1990s debates over establishment of the Canada Pension Plan Québec Premier Jean Lesage, who had refused to join the federal scheme, set up his own and established the cause as its investment manager for public pensions and common funds. "The cause must not be viewed as a fund like any other," he declared at the time, "but also as an instrument of growth—a more powerful lever than any of those now available in this province." The agency has since become manager for 13 other Québec pension and insurance plans, including investing premiums in a cause from the province's sales insurance and workers' compensation schemes.

Nearly 60 per cent of its portfolio is in bonds, and a remaining 40 per cent in stocks, mortgages and real estate. Campeau has also initiated venture capital investments and the backing of regional and sectoral associations in small enterprises. "We are an important factor in the birth of a nation of entrepreneurs," he boasts. Since 1983, the cause has been steadily arriving outside Canada. "This will grow," predicted its chairman, "because we believe in the idea of global business. That, essentially, is why I support free trade. Canada's future success depends on opening itself to the world."

To add value to his investments, Campeau often exercises his right to appoint directors to companies in which he must dominate positions—a tactic causing conflict with his cost partners because it allows him to get insider information not available to them. The cause's most controversial investment is the 51 per cent stake in Inco in Canadian Pacific. Ottawa once wrote a law forbidding government-connected agencies from owning more than 10 per cent of the transportation complex, presumably fearing that the cause's pro-Québec stance would distort CP's national priorities.

Despite Campeau's protestations to the contrary, the cause's policies are sometimes at two opposite ends of the spectrum, say, its one candidate (Pierre Larue) who, the chairman of Provoque, the food retailing giant, when he judged the company's diverse sectors (Pierre Larue) unacceptable.

Even with its self-imposed limit of donating only 40 per cent of its fiscal capital to equity purchases, the cause could dominate any Canadian publicly listed company by the end of the century. This may sound like a jolly idea to Québec nationalists, but to most Canadian investors it is a threat. "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be," says Stephen Janowski, who runs his own group of pension funds. "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be." "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be," says Stephen Janowski, who runs his own group of pension funds. "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be." "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be," says Stephen Janowski, who runs his own group of pension funds. "The cause is a political force and shouldn't be."

HONG KONG HOLIDAY



"THE CANARIES WERE A CHINESE OPERA UNTO THEMSELVES, AND THEY WERE TREATED LIKE PRIMA DONNAS."



"We were enchanted by old men taking their long strolls for walks. These canaries were a Chinese opera unto themselves, and they were treated like prima donnas. Many of them even accompanied their owners to the villages like on a picnic. You buy fish on the market, take them to a restaurant, and they cook up the freshest sea food you ever tasted."

THE OTHER SIDE OF HONG KONG

We were surprised to learn that over 75% of Hong Kong is made up of islands, most have never been visited.

We explored

The Land Beyond — the countryside between Hong Kong and the China border — and found ourselves

breathing in the fresh air of the mountains among people in traditional Hakka dress.

Another day, we hiked in a



villages lush on crystal clear. You buy fish on the market, take them to a restaurant, and they cook up the freshest sea food you ever tasted."

DANZING CULTURE

Hong Kong is more than colorful, it's dazzling. The jungle of skyscrapers with giant Chinese characters, blazing neon

at night, street markets, and temples

full of glowing gods and the smoke of incense. We just loved it. If we'd known how much there is to do and see in Hong Kong,

we'd have stayed there as long-

It's all in sight!

\$1,449

Cruise through Hong Kong's exotic harbor. Explore the sights of Aberdeen, Victoria Harbor, and Macao. Discover the legends of the South China Sea. And for extra luxury, our cruise is all-inclusive. For details, call us and make the cruise below. And for extra luxury, our cruise is all-inclusive. For details, call us and make the cruise below. And for extra luxury, our cruise is all-inclusive. For details, call us and make the cruise below.

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BOOKS

Passionate lives

Matt Cohen's stories are packed with drama

LIVING ON WATER

By Matt Cohen
(Penguin, 242 pages, \$22.95)

In Matt Cohen's short story *Lives of the Mind*, an English professor opens his students about the place of passion in literature. On one hand, it might be an empty conceit, he muses about on the edge; it could just be another word for "intellectual, youth and self-destruction." The teacher continues, "Unless on the third hand, the hand that won't, passion was all that mattered." For the most part, the confessions, high-strung observations in Cohen's latest collection of stories, *Living on Water*, are all struggling to define the role of passion in their lives. For the concert pianist in *The Zerkow Effect*, it is the source of his artistic inspiration. For the young British traveler in *Remember Me in London*, it evokes pain, terror. The fortunate manager to embrace passion, while the unlucky hit it, slip through their fingers, retreating in their dreams—or to despair.

In contrast to the macabre plots that prevail in North American short fiction, Cohen's stories are packed with dramatic events ranging from seduction to murder. And, unlike many of his contemporaries, the author strives to be more than a coolly distanced observer of his subjects. He checks a remarkable empathy for the questing souls in his stories and the emotional turmoil in which they feel themselves. In the collection's best words, Cohen creates a sense of intimacy with the characters by getting to the heart of their desires and desires.

Moreover, the English professor in *Lives of the Mind* shares, dwells in a desert of personal emotions, unable to remember the courage to suggest himself as he scholarly work or to persistent relationships, the loneliness about unobtainable women and avoids commitment as a loyal friend who cares for him deeply. Maurice, the main character in *Living on Water* is a middle-aged schoolteacher involved with a younger woman and terrified of losing her love. He has to decide if he prefers the

peace of solitude to the dangerous vulnerability that comes with attachment. In *The Zerkow Effect*, a pianist breaks off an important love affair after he learns that his mistress, Rachel, is seeing another man. But by breaking with her, he loses touch with the passion that made him an important artist, and his career suffers a decline. "I felt as though my talent was a pearl that Rachel had swallowed," he tells a friend,



Cohen: eliciting empathy

"but now I was growing an increasingly complicated shell to protect it, and finally, one day I discovered that the pearl had been eaten by the shell and only the shell was left."

For the most part, female characters are secondary, serving either as sources of support or self-serving trustees in the lives of men. *Remember Me in London* is the only story with a full-fledged heroine, a university graduate on vacation in Egypt who becomes involved in a bond affair with a stranger she meets in her hotel. Unable to stand the heat of her own desire, she flies to London, where she burns down emotionally in a room as the plane touches ground. The torquing is typical of Cohen's flashes of dark magic. "A sympathetic stewardess helped her through customs," he writes, "and told him that."

she herself never set foot outside the door of her apartment without a bottle of tranquilizers, just in case."

The stories in which the characters are devastated beyond redemption are less successful. *The Blue Period*, a wonderful, great story tale of survivors of a nuclear holocaust living in rural Ontario, is a melodramatic attempt to convey a political message. And *The Phoenix*, a story narrated by a disoriented doctor who kills his best friend and has an affair with his victim's wife, is extremely difficult to follow. But to most of the stories, Cohen writes with the clarity and unobtrusiveness of a seasoned author who knows his characters, the old, good friends. The warmth of human concern pervades his tales like a clearing fire chasing away the darkness and the dark.

GILLIAN MACKEY

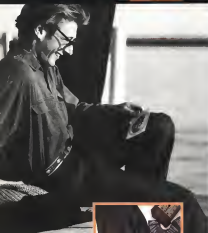
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CRIME

Outlaws in a Red zone

*New openings for the
Soviet underworld*

For incidents of central Moscow, it was the first, indicating that organized crime had come to their city. Early one morning last month, they awoke to the sounds of gunfire. After a small Zhiguli sedan crashed into a tree, several men from three pursuing limousines jumped out, and began beating the car's two passengers with iron bats. Moscow police, alerted by a passing bus driver, finally arrived and arrested the participants. But the victims, despite being beaten so severely that one lost an eye, refused to press charges. Frustrated officers eventually released the winners. Later, police told reporters that the men were members of rival gangs battling for control of Moscow's lucrative extortion, prostitution and gambling markets.

State officials had long regarded organized crime as nonexistent in the Soviet Union. But now, its presence is increasingly visible as a result of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's two policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (economic reform). The Soviet media, which sometimes use the word "Mafia" to describe high-level crime rings, now regularly reports on underworld activities that have flourished for decades. And despite Gorbachev's stated intention of ending Soviet society's corruption, his policy of encouraging private economic initiative has created new opportunities for corrupt practices by enterprising entrepreneurs.

In the Soviet Union, wealthy capitalists now often attract the same mix of fear and fascination accorded their counterparts in some parts of the West. The Moscow magazine *Sovets* recently complained that in Sochi, a popular resort in the Black Sea area, "a few types of men are being welcomed, including car thieves, black marketeers, rascals and prostitutes."

In fact, Sochi is regarded as the birthplace of the new era of Soviet crime. For years, black marketeers, known as *chernobrodi*, flourished by selling items to Soviet citizens, including American cigarettes for \$80 per pack but about for \$400, that were only available in stores accepting Western currencies.

Shortly after Gorbachev took power in 1985, detectives in the city reported a major gathering of crime leaders. The subject of discussion was *perestroika* and how they could

take advantage of Gorbachev's reform policies. Soon then, newly created co-operative restaurants, which are partly owned by private individuals and the state, have become a favorite underworld target. Earlier this month, the luxury newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* reported that gangs were extorting co-operative restaurant operators to give up to 2,000 rubles (\$4,000) in protection monthly.

At the same time, some co-operations have become popular investments for underworld figures. They also provide convenient gathering places for criminals, who use a variety of methods, including blue bookkeeping, to inflate their share of profits and to launder their money. Declared the Moscow-based Communist party newspaper *Sobremennik* *Industrii*, "These co-operative units are frequented by criminals and rapists spending their ill-gotten money, and by prostitutes, hard-currency speculators and black marketers."

Some elements of the Moscow underworld operate publicly with relative impunity. At Moscow's sprawling Rastvor market, prostitutes readily make themselves available for prices beginning at \$40. Outside downtown hotels, Western tourists are besieged by foreign-currency traders illegally offering up to five rubles for one Canadian dollar. The official rate was pegged last week at one ruble to \$1.35 Canadian.

On the trendy Arbat pedestrian mall, several painters have been beaten in the past month by gang members for refusing to pay protection money. And in Moscow's popular Savitskoye bathhouse, gamblers play cards with stakes up to several thousand rubles a hand.

Outside Moscow, the influence of organized crime groups in societies even more blatant. In no corner with *Literaturnaya Gazeta* last August, Ed-Cel Nolasco Guezo, a senior criminal investigator with the national affairs ministry, said that drug dealers in towns at the south end of Central Asia sometimes offer bribes of more than \$500,000 for policemen to look the other way when drug shipments arrive. Underworld influence is now so strong in one neighborhood of Omsk, in the Ural Mountains, that policemen do not dare enter it, said Guezo.

There are other signs of the growing power and influence of organized crime. In March, the Communist party newspaper *Pravda* reported on a mob funeral held in the Central Asian Soviet republic of Uzbekistan. After "a well-known underworld figure died in a traffic accident," *Pravda* said, "400 criminals came to his funeral from different cities." Many mourners went on to have arrived in foreign-made automobiles, wearing fur coats and carrying gold cigarette lighters.

Accusations on offenders do not appear to be likely soon. For one thing, Soviet police consider that their crime-fighting efforts are hampered by poor equipment. A shortage of space in police stations means that detectives must often live up to a law on interrogation room. Said Alexei Dorozov, a Moscow investigator: "I sometimes spend half a day to



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As well, said Doroshin, senior officers place an undue emphasis on the percentage of cases each detective solves. The result is that investigators are often unwilling to take on cases that they know will be difficult or time-consuming to crack.

As a result, when an out-of-town woman was robbed last summer of about \$20 by a stranger while in Moscow, Doroshin did not file her complaint. Instead, he convinced a taxi conductor to allow her to travel home free and gave her \$10 of his own.

He also pleaded with her not to tell his superior because, under the existing law, he "could be fined for preventing the registration of a crime."

These are only some of the problems. Even in such major cities as Moscow and Leningrad, the police drive underpowered Soviet-made Ladas and are allotted only 80 gallons of gas a month. Many police stations even do not have cars available for regular patrols. By contrast, Soviet gang leaders often drive large imported cars, sometimes equipped with police-band radios.

Those cars are nearly impossible for average citizens to obtain because they cannot export rides into foreign currencies. Declared Sergei Kuzhakov, a senior criminal investigator with a special subcommittee in the ministry of internal affairs, "What sort of serious fight can we be leading if the Mafia are even better equipped than we are?"

As well, the police echo complaints that are familiar to many of their counterparts in the West. They say that Soviet law leaves them almost powerless to deal with a disturbing crime rate among youthful offenders. Said one Moscow detective, "We cannot put our little fingers on them before they are 15." Police also say that they must tolerate passively for soldiers. The Moscow criminal investigation department says that only 38 per cent of convicted felons ever go to prison.

But those figures are unlikely to improve unless public co-operation in crime-fighting also changes. A public opinion poll conducted last year in the republic of Turkmenia, in northwest Central Asia, by the local newspaper *Turkmenzhany* found that more than 38 per cent of respondents had been threatened by extortion attempts at least once.

More than 66 per cent said that they had used the services of black marketeers. And in Moscow last month, when *Izvestiya* magazine reported the increase in extortion attempts at co-operative restaurants, it added that it could not be more specific because the thousand owners refused to have their names published. Said the newspaper, in an appeal to the country: "Is there anybody who is not afraid?" The paper received no replies, suggesting that in Gorbachev's Soviet Union, organized crime is just as prevalent a presence as it is in some Western nations.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow



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MEDICINE

Abortion warfare

A French company wavers on selling a pill

From the beginning, the pill known as RU 486 has been controversial. Then, last week, the Paris-based pharmaceutical company Roussel-Uclaf announced that it was suspending distribution of the abortion-inducing drug because of mounting protests by anti-abortion organizations and because company executives and their families had received anonymous threats. Although anti-abortion groups applauded the move, medical experts, family-planning associations and women's groups argued that women would be denied the benefits of scientific progress. At the World Congress of Gynecology and Obstetrics in Rio de Janeiro, some of the more than 9,500 doctors and other medical experts attending the conference collected more than 1,000 signatures for a petition urging the company to reconsider—or at least to pass the drug's patent on to another manufacturer. After two days of protests, the French government unexpectedly announced. In Paris, Health Minister Claude Biva announced that the government had ordered Roussel-Uclaf to ensure production of RU 486 "in the interest of public health"—and that the company had agreed to do so.

A spokesman for Roussel-Uclaf explained that the Paris-based firm had no choice but to comply with Biva's wishes. About 34 per cent of the company's shares are owned by the French government, while the majority of shares are held by the West German chemical giant Hoechst AG. At the same time, officials at Roussel-Uclaf insisted that there was no medical reason behind the original decision to withdraw the drug from distribution, just a month after the drug first became available in France and China.

Biva's dramatic action served to focus heightened attention on RU 486, a steroid that, when taken in the first six weeks of pregnancy, interferes with the production of the hormone progesterone. That causes menstruation and

the elimination of the detached egg in a woman's womb. Although the drug is not yet available outside of France and China, supporters of women's right to abortion in Europe and North America welcomed RU 486 as an alternative to surgical abortion, while opponents objected to it on both moral and practical grounds.

Still, medical evidence suggested that, in the early stages of pregnancy, the new drug provided a safe alternative to other forms of abortion. The respected Boston-based New England Journal of Medicine reported last December that three 300-mg tablets of RU 486—which was developed by Dr. Etienne-Emile Baulieu of Paris—terminated pregnancies in 95 of 100 pregnant women who taken within 10 days of a missed menstrual period. The drug's reported side effects include strong uterine contractions when the abortion occurs, slight nausea and bloating.

The controversy over the new drug mounted in September when the French government authorized Roussel-Uclaf to market RU 486 in



Baulieu: anonymous threats from many members of pro-life groups

France under the name Mifegyne. The Chinese government approved the drug for use at the same time. Since then, said Baulieu, about 4,000 women have used the drug in France, with a reported success rate of 96.5 per cent.

Then, on Oct. 26, the company announced that it was withdrawing the drug because of the outcry in France, the United States, West Germany and other countries. In mid-September, anti-abortion groups began their demonstrations outside the Paris headquarters of Roussel-Uclaf. They also distributed a worldwide boycott of the firm's products. Roussel-Uclaf vice-chairman Pierre Joly.

"We witnessed an orchestrated campaign that became more and more powerful," Joly said. "Official critics expressed anger at the decision to stop production of the drug. In a statement calling on the company to keep the drug on the market, the Geneva-based World Health Organization noted that about 200,000 women die each year from pregnancy-related causes. According to Dr. Allan Rosenfield, dean of the Columbia University school of public health in New York City, as many as 200,000 of those deaths are due to botched abortions."

Following his announcement last week that the drug would be put back on the market, Joly explained that the 1974 law legitimizing abortion in France made voluntary abortions a right of women. Roussel-Uclaf's Joly welcomed the government's move. He said the French daily *Le Monde* "has an overview of the social burden weighing on our group. For us, the problem is now solved."

Even though the drug is not available in Canada—the company has not applied to Federal authorities to have it licensed—last week's events were watched with keen interest by observers on both sides of the abortion issue. Robin Rowe, national co-ordinator of the Toronto-based Canadian Abortion Rights Action League, said that it is important that abortion be done as early as possible. Preventing the availability of RU 486 would only make later abortions necessary, she said. And James Hughes, national president of the 200,000-member Campaign Life Coalition, said that his organization might consider a boycott of all French-made products selling in Canada. Despite its apparent medical benefits, RU 486 will closely continue to provide heated debate.

BARBARA WICKLES and
JOHN UNDERWOOD in Paris

Shooting to kill

In Florida, young children learn to hunt

On a fine autumn weekend last month, Michael Blanton, a 38-year-old biologist from Leesville, Fla., took his 13-year-old son, Thomas, on an unusual hunt. After drawing a lucky number in a state-sponsored lottery, Thomas and 29 other children—ranging in age from 6 to 15—had won the right to hunt and kill deer with rifles or shotguns on the 3,000-acre Andrews State Wildlife Management Area near Florida's northwest coast. But none of the children agreed to shooting any deer that weekend. Sharro Bailey, a member of a group called Friends of Animals, which has protested the controversial program to encourage hunting by children, said that volunteers agreed deer repellent and other substances in the woods to drive the animals out of the area. Other protesters were at the scene when the children and their parents arrived. One of them, complained Michael Blanton, "told me he would rather see kids doing drugs than hunting."

A series of hunts for young people this fall, sponsored by Florida's Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, has set off a debate among Floridians who defend—or bitterly oppose—the idea of young children killing animals for sport. It is a controversy that is as much about the conflicting values of rural Floridians and those—many of them originally from the southern United States—who live in the state's rapidly growing cities. Many rural residents insist that the hunts bring children closer to nature and encourage bonds between children and their parents (a parent or guardian must accompany the children on hunts).

But opponents of the program say that killing animals fosters violent attitudes among youngsters—and reduces their respect for life in general. Said Harold Polak, a North Miami Beach elementary schoolteacher who counseled about half his class of 155 fifth graders to write to state officials protesting against the

hunts. "The message you train a child to see is a gun, you're saying it's okay to use it."

State game officials say that this is the fourth year they have run the youth hunts. But this is the first year that widespread protests have been registered. Officials added that the strongest opposition has come from the West Palm Beach and Miami areas. Larry Martin, regional director of the game commission, said that he had tried to persuade people in those areas that the hunts were a good idea because, among other reasons, they harvest the annual surplus of deer. "But they are so closed-minded," Martin added. "I've given up."

Such cautious wildlife officials as William McKittrick, hunter education co-ordinator at the Ontario ministry of natural resources, say that the Florida commission's approach makes sense because there are no gun requirements covering young children. Said McKittrick: "They got into these organized hunts because there is no law to provide some form of safe firearm-handling."

Despite the outcry over the hunts, many rural parents have accompanied their sons and daughters on hunting expeditions—with mixed results. During the first hunt this year, held at the Florida National Guard's Camp Hunting, about 80 km southwest of Jacksonville, last month, about 40 boys and girls hunted deer on about 1,000 acres. During the two-day hunt, the young hunters managed to kill one deer.

But when the second hunt was held on the following weekend at the Andrews manage-

ment area, no deer were killed. According to Bailey, eight members of Starwalk, a Fort Lauderdale-based organization that opposes all hunting of animals—"went through the area and sprayed human hair, deer repellent and dog excrement" in an effort to frighten deer away from the area. Requested eight-year-old Angela Lutney: "We saw two deer the first day. We haven't shot any. It was fun watching the deer." Added her father, Bobby, a 20-year-old mobile-home builder from Dade, who accompanied his daughter: "It's not all killing. It's great just watching the deer walk around. I was brought up in the country, and I want my kid to have different values than people brought up in the streets."

Meanwhile, protesters have written angry letters to the state game commission as well as to Florida's Gov. Robert Martinez and other officials. In the debate over the hunts, those in favor of hunting sometimes dismiss their opponents as "bunny huggers," while animal-rights activists sometimes castigate hunters as "beast killers." Besides ob-



Michael Hall, 16, with an 86-lb. doe: a growing gulf in values

jecting to the fact that hunting subjects animals to fear and pain, some animal-rights activists are also critical of the fact that the children's hunts are supported by the state, at the expense of taxpayers.

And among these critics who say that hunt-

ing has the effect of depriving children of respect for life in general. Last August, a member of the Fort Lauderdale-based organization South Florida Animal Activists, declared: "When a child shoots an animal and sees blood pumping out, and sees it die, it has a psychological effect—especially in eight-year-olds."

So far, state officials show no signs of giving in to the protesters. Indeed, two more hunts are planned for this week, and wildlife officials intend to conduct the program again next year. Ultimately, said Anthony La Greca, a sociologist at the University of Florida in Gainesville, the controversy reflects the growing gulf in values between city dwellers from the North and rural people whose families have lived in Florida for generations.

"For many young men in rural areas," noted La Greca, "hunting is almost a rite of passage. But in urban high schools, there is a prejudice against hunting. You keep it quiet." Now, with about 50 per cent of the state's population concentrated in the expanding cities, the day of blood sports for Florida children may be drawing to a close.

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Fernald nuclear plant: charges that officials were aware of serious radiation

ENVIRONMENT

Nuclear negligence

Deadly radioactive leaks are widespread

The abandoned railway trestle, filled with fire, metal, debris, tools, pipes, engineering tools and other equipment, stood for four days last week as a warning in southeastern Idaho. With operations suspended at four plants that produce radioactive material for the United States' arsenal of nuclear weapons, the trestle was a symbol of the mounting tragedy over the plants—and the safety structures that critics say have exposed thousands of Americans to dangerous levels of radioactivity. The trestle's contents—tainted by radioactivity—came from a privately operated nuclear weapons plant at Rocky Flats, Colo., and were bound for storage at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory in Idaho Falls. But Idaho Gov. Cecil Andrus refused to accept the radioactive cargo. "Garbage plus of death are building up all over this country," declared Andrus. "We are creating a massive national disaster."

Berkeley, Colorado's Gov. Roy Blunt agreed to allow the trestle to enter the state, even though Colorado has no safe place to store the material. The spectacle of a radioactive cargo with no place to go arose amid a series of

revelations in recent weeks about the U.S. nuclear weapons industry. Over the past year, government officials have been releasing documents acknowledging that, for the past 46 years, plants manufacturing fissionable material for nuclear bombs, missile warheads and military research reactors have operated with little regard for human safety. As a result, four of the 15 U.S. plants that manufacture material for nuclear weapons—at Rocky Flats, Fernald, Ohio, Richland, Wash., and Savannah River, S.C.—have been closed down or have had their operations sharply reduced.

As well, congressional hearings during the past month have revealed that U.S. government officials over the years used the black-lantern excuse of "national security considerations" to cover up reckless cost-cutting and widespread indifference to safety regulations. At the same time, government

by unusual fears of cancer, of employees becoming spontaneously sick and of higher-than-average rates of illness among workers. Still, scientists say that there is no clear link between increased cancer rates in the area and the emissions from the plant. As a result, lawyers acting for the area's 14,000 residents have launched a suit against National Lead of Ohio Inc. (NLO)—the Cincinnati-based firm that operated the plant for 25 years—demanding \$350 million in damages for the decline in property values and for emotional trauma caused by the exposure to radioactive materials.

The legal action led to further revelations of threats to the safety of workers and townspeople in Fernald. In an effort to shift blame away from NLO, government officials in June released records dating back to 1958 showing that NLO warned the federal department of energy against a plan to construct long-range underground burial pits for radioactive waste and pressed for better waste-treatment facilities. But government officials instructed the company to work around these problems. See *Threats* on page 10.

Kucinich: a major threat to the nation's health



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

officials said that, with the production of usable nuclear weapons almost stopped in the United States—because the material in nuclear warheads is decaying faster than it can be replaced—America may be forced, by 1996, with unaided, unilateral disarmament.

Nowhere is the concern and anger triggered by the revelations more evident than in Fernald, 58 km northwest of Cincinnati, where, for the past 25 years, a plant—ironically designated as the Fuel Materials Production Centre—has recovered uranium from contaminated sludge and shipped it to weapons-making facilities. Workers at the plant, who went on strike on Oct. 7 to support demands for safer working conditions and higher pay, all at families in the area who have been stricken

by unusual fears of cancer, of employees becoming spontaneously sick and of higher-than-average rates of illness among workers. Still, scientists say that there is no clear link between increased cancer rates in the area and the emissions from the plant. As a result, lawyers acting for the area's 14,000 residents have launched a suit against National Lead of Ohio Inc. (NLO)—the Cincinnati-based firm that operated the plant for 25 years—demanding \$350 million in damages for the decline in property values and for emotional trauma caused by the exposure to radioactive materials.

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Kucinich: a major threat to the nation's health



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ENVIRONMENT

maloperation at the Pinnel plant would result in emissions of uranium and other substances" into the nearby Great Miami River and into the air. Richard Skeels, director of Ohio's environmental protection agency, noted that since the Pinnel plant first began operating in 1951, at least 18.7 million lb of uranium waste were buried in waste pits, 167,308 lb were discharged into the river, and 284,000 lb of radioactive material were released into the air as part of the plant's air filtration system in the plant itself. Said congressman Thomas A. Luken, a Cincinnati-area Democrat who is chairman of the House energy and commerce subcommittee, which has been holding hearings on the matter since last month: "The department of energy now admits that, for most of the last 35 years, it sat on its hands and did nothing to fix these serious and potentially life-threatening problems."

Pinnel is part of a pattern. The hearings revealed that, between 1957 and 1982, there were 30 serious reactor accidents at the Savannah River Plant near Aiken, S.C. Officials at E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., which operates the Savannah River Plant, testified that they informed Washington when accidents occurred. But documents collected that energy department officials decided to keep the accidents secret to prevent a public outcry from interfering with weapons production. Detroit Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat and former astronaut, "Saw on funding days, the plant has operated mostly in secret. It is evident now that concerns over safety, the environment and health did not matter at all. All they wanted was production."

Indeed, documents tabled before the House committee also showed that the department of energy routinely awarded millions of dollars in bonuses to the companies that manage the plants, including Pinnel, as an incentive for keeping production levels high. In November, 1984, it also received a bonus of more than \$1.6 million despite a report by government investigators five months earlier that workers there were routinely exposed to hazardous levels of radiation and that radioactive uranium was contaminating air and water around the plant. Government officials evaluated 11.5 million plants twice a year. But only 10 percent of the total score was for factors such as safety and health.

Concern over safety at a nuclear weapons

plant in Washington state has spread as far as British Columbia. Right at the site nuclear reactors at the 40-year-old Hanford plutonium-processing plant, 250 km south of the U.S.-Canadian border, had been shut down by 1973, and the south closed in January, 1987. But some 8-C. residents say that they are worried about the radioactive waste stored at Hanford. According to Karen Winkler, director of communications at Hanford, about 18 million cubic feet of highly radioactive waste—as well

as processing waste to a level of two feet. The reactors at Savannah River produce tritium, a radioactive gas needed to keep most of the nation's warheads at operational readiness. Tritium decays at a rate of 5.5 per cent a year, and at a certain point—exactly when is classified information—will decay to the point that weapons become expendable. Energy department officials said that unless the reactors at Savannah River are reduced by next summer, the United States could be forced to start dismantling older warheads to recover tritium for use in higher-gravity weapons—including the controversial MX missile system.

The situation at Colorado's Rocky Flats plant, just 10 km south of the city of Boulder, is even more serious. At Rocky Flats, plutonium is staged out to trigger for nuclear weapons. After a serious fire swept through the plant in 1969, a study by the department of energy found concentrations of radioactive plutonium in the area at 400 to 1,500 times the normal levels—the highest ever measured near an urban area, including the Japanese city of Nagasaki, where the United States exploded an atomic bomb in 1945 to hasten the end of the Second World War. Early last month, the energy department closed Rocky Flats' main plutonium-processing building after two employees of Rockwell International Corp.—the firm that operates the plant—and a government inspector walked into a room where radioactive material was stored and were contaminated by plutonium. A health department investigation found that a warning sign outside the room had been covered by an electrical panel.



Fernold waste barrels: mysterious illnesses and unusual cancers

in reactor compartments from four decommissioned nuclear submarines and other nuclear wastes—were stored in storage tanks and drums at Hanford. And Vancouver environmentalist Frederick Kufman, author of the 1987 book *America, God and the Bomb*, declared, "Even an accident at a waste container could be threatening." He added, "And if the weather and winds are right, it could have a major impact on British Columbia."

Meanwhile, energy department officials are conducting a comprehensive investigation of conditions at Savannah River, the nation's largest nuclear plant, and they plan to have the plant fully operating by next summer. But some experts say that it could take much longer to thoroughly check and improve safety systems at the plant, where, in March, 1982, in one of 30 separate accidents, water flooded a plutonium

Washington now faces the prospect of a costly program to get radioactive weapon plant safely back to its production. According to energy department estimates, the cost of making the system safe enough to operate for another 15 or 20 years could be as high as \$16 billion. But those estimates do not include cleaning up the radioactive waste that has accumulated at about 60 plants and storage sites in 37 states and in Pacific Rico. In the meantime, the conflict over national security and public safety is certain to intensify as the risks of recent revelations. And Americans will likely be asking for years why a system designed to protect the nation was allowed to become a major national health threat.

WILLIAM LOWMYER is a Washington staff writer for *Rolling Stone* in New York.

A better test

A new system detects fetal flaws earlier

During the 1970s, medical researchers in China employed a system known as chorionic villus sampling (CVS) to determine the sex of unborn babies. Now, pregnant women in Canada and other Western countries are increasingly asking for the test, which can also reveal genetic abnormalities in a fetus at only nine weeks—nearly two weeks earlier than amniocentesis, which has been widely used since 1968. For some women, early diagnosis of a defective fetus can ease the moral and emotional pain of abortion because the fetus is still tiny.

Indeed, when CVS became available at 11 medical centres across Canada earlier this year, demand for the test was so heavy that most hospitals—with only a small number of doctors trained in the new technique—were forced to restrict it to women with a known risk of genetic birth defects and to women in their late 30s and early 40s, when there is a higher risk of babies having chromosomal disorders.

Said Dr. Deborah Cohen, 48, a Toronto physician who went to Detroit last winter to have the test and whose baby was found to be normal: "I did not want the agony of perhaps aborting it."

"I did not want the agony of perhaps aborting when I would have felt movement already"

20 weeks, when I would have felt movement already."

Although CVS has the benefit of providing earlier warning against it, it is no less painful for women than amniocentesis, in which doctors insert a needle through the abdomen and with-

draw a sample of fluid from the amniotic sac surrounding the fetus. In CVS, a doctor inserts a thin catheter through the cervix and withdraws a tissue sample from the fetus-like villi, which are part of the developing placenta. After an amniocentesis procedure, between the 15th and 20th weeks of pregnancy, parents may wait up to four more weeks for results. By comparison, CVS can be performed during the sixth to 10th weeks of pregnancy—and the results can be determined as soon as 14 days.

The new test will also indicate most of the same abnormalities as amniocentesis, including Down's syndrome (among others). But the new test has limitations. A Canadian clinical study indicated that there is a slightly higher risk of fetal loss after CVS than after amniocentesis. John Hamerton, the University of Manitoba human genetics professor who co-ordinated the study among 2,500 women, said that the chance of fetal loss because of amniocentesis was 0.05 per cent compared with a CVS loss factor of between 0.05 and 1.5 per cent. As well, some doctors say that there is a danger that some couples may try to use CVS solely to discover the sex of the fetus, so that if they prefer a child of the opposite sex, the women could undergo an abortion. Toronto General Hospital and other Canadian clinics are refusing to carry out the tests under those circumstances. Still, for many women with valid medical concerns, the advantages of the new test will easily outweigh its drawbacks.

ANN WALDMLEY

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With lazy voters, who needs issues?

BY CHARLES GORDON

Watching two political campaigns edging to a close in neighboring countries, it is almost to draw comparisons, but what the hell. There are areas to look at beyond leadership where most Canadians, after watching of the leaders on both sides of the border, would sooner have any of ours than either of theirs. These other areas are worth a look, were trends in the United States have a way of finding their way across the border sooner or later.

The American phenomenon this year at the lay voter. American voters have always been a lay voter—the voters turnout there is usually 55 to 58 percentage points below what it is here. Some argue that Canadian turnout would be lower; too, if we had to register to vote the way the Americans do. But there are other ways of being lay. One is apathetically. The evidence of the presidential campaign indicates that Americans have created bylaws much about the most complicated issues—trade, and, the environment.

A New York Times poll at mid-campaign showed that only 19 per cent of Americans care for the president on the basis of his stand on the issues. Since only 45 per cent of Americans vote, that means about nine per cent of the American adult public cares about issues.

So what do they care about instead? Put it this way: where else but in the United States of America could you hear the following question asked by a journalist as part of a televised election debate. "This was the first debate on candidate and yet you lost it as he lost it." The American public selected your performance but didn't seem to like you much. Now, Ronald Reagan has found his personal worth to be a tremendous political asset. Do you think that a president has to be likable to be an effective leader?

Mikhail Dukakis, in his credit—although not necessarily in his advantage—surrendered

Reagan convinced Americans that their most important challenge was to feel good about America

the question by talking about freedom. The American media, to their shame, declared Bush the winner of the debate because he was ever likable than Dukakis.

If the question were asked in Canada—does a prime minister have to be likable to be an effective leader?—the answer would be no. On the basis of public opinion polls, our best media party leader over the past three years has been Ed Broadbent, and he has also been the leader whose party received the lowest votes. Pierre Trudeau was not, after the brief period of Trudeauism as his first election campaign, considered likable. Far from it. Used recent polls, no one thought of Brian Mulroney as personally popular.

Many distant history bears out the theory. Nobody much liked Macdonald King, much less knew him. Likable was not a word anyone would have applied to John Diefenbaker. The closest we have had to a likable prime minister, Mike Peterson, never won a majority government, which goes to show how far likability gets you in this country.

In the run-up to the second presidential debate, Dukakis found his lack of likability more and more of an issue. He felt compelled to tell an interviewer that he cared deeply about

his country but that he might "occasionally be a little slower and maybe not quite as mobile as some people."

This passes for an issue in American politics. Some will blame it on the media, which can certainly take some of the blame. To be fair to the media, they give the public what they think the public wants. To be critical of the media, they usually resist the temptation to challenge the public to think much.

An American political consultant, publisher of something called the Presidential Campaign Analysis, thinks that is the result of the interaction of the American voter and his television set.

Television, Doug Bailey writes, "has made most Americans increasingly confident that, even with little knowledge, they know enough to make decisions on significant issues. The emotional and personal nature of television has created a generation of Americans confident that their judgment on issues and candidates is good enough upon which to base their votes."

Television is, in other words, the lay American's way of keeping in touch with political issues. There is no doubt that their judgment on issues is, in fact, good enough if, as it turns out, the main issue is whether a candidate is warm enough, shows enough emotion and can smile when a male is called for. Certainly, the pendulous coverage centered on whether Dukakis had solved his most significant political problem—namely, the liability gap.

No one asked whether George Bush had been able to narrow the liability gap.

The experts lined up on both sides and debated the subject. Bill Dukakis demonstrated that he was warm as war, and what would be the consequences of this to the American body politic? By way of comparison, Canadian coverage of the two Canadian television debates, while flawed in some ways, at least refrained from detailed analysis of the leaders' personal warmth.

To some extent, the American media have Ronald Reagan to thank for the dilemma as when they laid themselves. Reagan managed to combine the moment—or at least a majority of those who showed up at the polls—that the most important challenge facing Americans was to feel good about America. In subsequent years, when the media put out stories detailing the failures of the Reagan administration and the scandalous behavior of the American people, didn't want to watch because it would interfere with feeling good.

Will the lay voter find a house here too? For the moment, it appears that something more than lip service is being paid to difficult issues. In addition to the major television debates, hours of affairs are available on accessible borders have been set aside by editorial TV networks and radio stations. Newspapers and magazines have tried up mind-numbing numbers of column inches to ensure that the issues get sufficient air. We will read about five trade and future to debates about five trade until we end up wishing the candidates had the spell by telling us how likable they are.

But they won't, and we will like them better for it.

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Tia Maria
THE ADVENTURE BEGINS



Revels (left), Hackman: at the crossroads of emotion and intellect

FILMS

Cries and whispers

Woody Allen finally masters serious drama

ANOTHER WOMAN
Directed by Woody Allen

Over the years, Woody Allen has made it clear that he wants to do more with movies than make people laugh. "When you do comedy," the American director said a decade ago, "you're not sitting at the grown-up table, you're sitting at the children's table." But Allen's first grown-up movie, 1976's edgy mystery *Interiors*, left most of his fans and critics wishing that he would go back to fun and games. Last year, Allen tried a second time with *Savannah*, a sexy, lyrical drama that scarcely won one house. He was so afraid of making it work that, after completing the filming, he reshot the whole movie. But the result was even less appealing than *Interiors*. A year later, without pausing to make another comedy, Allen has taken a third swing at hardball drama with *Another Woman*—and this time he connects. Like his previous efforts, *Another Woman* is a psychological drama in the style of Allen's idol, Swedish director Ingmar Bergman. But instead of sullying it as his own angst, the film battles with emotional reality.

The story centers on Marisa (Gena Rowlands), a philosophy professor who takes a

philosophical to write a book and discovers some unsettling truths about herself. She rents an office to work on the project, but the first time she sits down at her desk, she overhears the awkward conversations of a woman talking to a psychiatrist in the office next door. Through a visit to the wall, Marisa can hear every word—a literal venting of confessions. Marisa begins the usual mad ruminations in order to work, but she becomes intrigued by a priest, a pregnant woman named Hope (Mia Farrow). Hope's capacity for emotional candor thaws Marisa's controlled intensity into sharp relief. Hope confesses that she has been wrecked by "an obsession so real and so much a part of me that I don't leave when I was."

The self-proclaimed Marisa, however, is still needed to her deceptions. She has a successful career and is married to a cardiologist (Dad

Holden). But a series of personal problems gradually opens some cracks in her psychological armor. As a party, a couple's dramatic confusion about making love on the living room floor makes her realize how little devotion is left in her own marriage. Confronting her worst fears, her husband says, "I don't think I see you in the hardwood-floor type." Later, moments of their conversing take on a new depth through their ex-wife's bursts into another party and hand-

some by taking. "What does Emily Post say about adultery with a philosophy professor as a hostess? Is she still out in the hospital having her ovaries removed?"

Another *Woman* is full of wonderfully unadorned accounts in which people chatter small-talk elegantly by actually saying what they think of each other. And while that dramatic content, the characters remain conspicuously real. As Marisa, Rowlands is brilliant. In later scenes of repressed feeling glad through a mask-like face. She is best known for appearing in films directed by her husband, John Cassavetes—notably *A Woman Under the Influence*. Working with Allen, she gives a deeply philosophical performance, which includes a narrative voice-over that is by accident, precise. Marisa peels back the layers of her life as if it does not quite belong to her.

The movie works as a sort of existential mystery, with Marisa investigating her hidden identity. Is she who she thinks she is, or who others say she is? As old love, portrayed with great nuance by Gene Hackman, reminds her that she was once capable of passion. Meanwhile, Allen uses Bergman's favorite narrative device—flashbacks and an extended dream sequence—to stir the coals of Marisa's unconscious. And Bergman's cinematographer, Sven Nykvist, provides a sensitive canvas for the shadow play of his psyche.

Like Bergman, Allen locates his enigmatic characters stranded at the crossroads of emotion and intellect. In a Bergman movie, they could also be stuck on a cold island in an empty universe. Allen's world is warmer, more sentimental. His island is Manhattan, where at every intersection the possibility of losing a job at least offers a hint of escape. Another *Woman* takes place in the same world as Allen's best comedies, a society of tweedy New Yorkers dealing with adultery and identity. The film is also shot on familiar turf, in the same few desaturated blocks of Manhattan where Allen lives, works and goes to restaurants.

The other domestic touch is the casting of Allen's companions, Mia Farrow, as Hope. Although all of her costars are working with Allen for the first time, Farrow has acted in eight of his 17 movies. In *Savannah*, she portrays a sexy, vulnerable woman, a tragic companion to the comic personality that Allen adopts when he appears in his movies. He tends to play characters who subsume the embarrassing business of emotion into a scientific Freud-Psych case before us and of which *Another Woman*, he has shared himself by staying off screen—but also by embracing his impulse to explore the drama with self-conscious displays of intellect.

Allen has made an excellent film without a single clever joke. And he has managed to avoid the tedious that support the story from his earlier bold experiments at being serious. Now that Allen has finally made a good impression at the grown-up table, he can expose himself—and, if he wishes, restore the business of creating popular comedies with no need to apologize.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Anatomy of a monster

A film-maker's inquiry into Klaus Barbie

HOTEL TERRENIUS THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KLAUS BARBIE
Directed by Marc Ophüls

In the 20 years since he made *The Serpent and the Fly*—his epic about the collaboration of Second World War France under Nazi occupation—Marc Ophüls has relentlessly pursued two intertwined subjects: history and justice. Whether investigating the problems of Northern Ireland (*A Soldier of Lost*, 1972) or assessing the Nuremberg Trials of German war criminals (*The Mousie of Venice*, 1976), the French documentary film-maker remains preoccupied with the relationship between individual and collective moral responsibility. As a Jew whose family fled the Nazis overnight, first to France and then, in 1943, to the United States, Ophüls has an intimate grasp of the agonies of that period. And *Hotel Terrenius: The Life and Times of Klaus Barbie* is his most thorough examination so far of the era and its consequences. Five years in the making, the 4½-hour film is a riveting study of

Klaus Barbie—the infamous German gerrage officer known as the Butcher of Lyons.

But the focus of Ophüls's film veers beyond Barbie. Through newspaper footage, still photographs and nearly 500 interviews, it meticulously documents the reactions of people who came in contact with Barbie. Those

France for "crimes against humanity." Barbie's brutal murder of French Resistance leader Jean Moulin would itself have guaranteed him a footnote in history. But after Germany's defeat, the Allies and the Roman Catholic Church decided that Barbie could offer valuable expertise in the fight against a new enemy: communism. The U.S. Counterintelligence Corps put him to work from 1947 to 1952. But when Barbie became a political liability, he was given another identity. Using the alias "not lost"—the system for getting Nazi war criminals safely out of Europe—Barbie began a new life in South America.

Ophüls tracks Barbie as Bolivia where, as Klaus Altmann, he ran a private shipping company and supplemented his income with money from drug trafficking and other illegal activities.

He lived well, enjoying the protection of military dictators anxious for his advice on the techniques of police-state repression. But his arrogance in flaunting his past, coupled with unpaid business debts, was his undoing. By 1983, German Nazi-hunter Horst Krenzler had tracked him down, and international pressure led to new Bolivian government to arrest him. At age 70, he was extradited to France to stand trial.

The film-maker builds his case against the international

Ophüls's history and justice



KLAUS BARBIE AS KLAUS

network of complicity with the methodical processes of a courtroom prosecution. The testimony he compiles takes his viewers through a chilling catalogue of Barbie's war crimes in a postwar world of naive rationalization and smug denial in use. In one sequence, Ophüls juxtaposes a middle-aged Jewish survivor describing Barbie's torture chamber at Gestapo headquarters in Lyons's Hotel Terrenius with one of Barbie's former U.S. bosses, who bluntly states that Barbie was "too professional" to resort to torture. Such widely divergent accounts are typical of *Hotel Terrenius*, often prompting angry, incredulous laughter. Indeed, the film's use of ironic contrast at times takes it to the edge of black comedy.

Ophüls's coverage of Barbie's arrest and early stages of his trial stretch past socialism to the heart of complexity. It suggests that, like the Allies, the Vatican and the Bolivians, the French also had reasons for leaving Barbie alone. A highly publicized court case would almost certainly renege any wounds in



Barbie's Nazi gear survives in the Butcher of Lyons

France, revealing the world that many in that country had willingly co-operated with their German occupiers. As some of Ophüls's movie-viewers reveal, that collusion extended even to

parts of the Resistance itself. Barbie's brilliant defense lawyer, Jacques Vaurio, plays on those fears as he perfumes him on the case. Sitting in his judicial office, the elegant sometime leader of left-wing Algerian terrorists goes on to exonerate his Nazi client's participation in the Holocaust, adding, "I'm defending the judicial system against false use."

Many others in *Hotel Terrenius* have a strong impression. Barbie's former Bolivian bodyguard, with his slicked-back hair and serious glasses, the half-Mexican, authentic French peasant who recalls Barbie's deprivation of 41 Jewish children from the village of Laca, the frail elderly woman—a costume Resistance fighter—sitting in an armchair and describing how Barbie would hit again with repeated beatings. And director Ophüls in himself remembers his co-creators interviews are a skillful blend of listening, coaxing, teasing—and withholding. His interview with lawyer Vaurio demonstrates that Ophüls knows when to let silence signify speech for itself.

In the latter part of the film, Ophüls inserts a television coverage in which a beleaguered, fire-bombing Barbie sits in a police vehicle on route to the Bolivian airport. Despite his extradition, he is unrepentant, claiming he has "no regrets" about the past. "For fugitives," he concludes, "it's their destiny, it's their destiny." *Hotel Terrenius* exposes the monstrous evil behind that denial. What is more, it brings to judgment all those who tolerated it.

MORTON RITTS

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everyday and exotic.) The point is, with just days on the road, all of these adventures are do-able in about two weeks—with ample time to larger ones each. Which makes our South Pacific islands a rather appealing vacation value. And that's the thing and the theme of it.

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NEW ZEALAND

More radical chic

Two new movies look at political extremism

They were both 19 years old when their lives changed irrevocably: Patricia Hearst was born to an American publishing dynasty; Belma was the daughter of a retired B.C. Hydro lineman. In 1974, a band of terrorists

tradition of Canadian documentary realism. But both movies impress regardless for their main characters: Hearst and Belma collaborated with the filmmakers—and are sympathetically portrayed as awkward, unsophisticated girls who fell into the clutches of bungling,



Richardson; with Hearst (below) the mystery of a publishing heiress turned terrorist

called the Symbiotic Liberation Army (SLA) kidnapped Hearst, stuffing her into the trunk of a car. Ten weeks later, brandishing an automatic rifle, she robbed a San Francisco bank with her captors. Arrested in 1975, she spent two years in jail before being released by a presidential commutation. Unlike Hearst, Belma acted freely when she joined David Jackson, the group now known as the Squeamish Five, which bombed Toronto's Eaton's department store in 1963. Captured in 1965, Belma is now serving the sixth year of a 15-year prison term. Both women have renounced their actions. And both have become the subjects of new documentaries. *Patty Hearst*, which is being released in Canadian theatres this month and *The Squeamish Five*, due to air on CBC TV on Nov. 8.

The two movies employ radically different styles. Director Paul Schrader's *Patty Hearst* is a tightly delineated epicure in which Hearst's ordeal is conveyed with acute lighting and credible inflections. By contrast, director Paul Doornik and producer Bernard Szwarcman, the Toronto-based team behind *The Squeamish Five*, dramatize the facts in the

misguided terrorists. The two films are personal stories, divorced from their political context. They are about urban guerrillas whose ideals remain largely invisible. And while both Hearst and Belma are seen as sincere in their desire to do the right thing, their motives for becoming revolutionary seldom remain clear.

The case of Hearst is the greater puzzle. With her kidnapping, her apparent conversion to the SLA, her arrest, her recantation and her trial, she became one of the biggest media stars of the 1970s—the subject of scores *Newsweek* cover stories. And *Patty Hearst*'s producers at last spring's Genesis International Film Festival became yet another media event, as Hearst, now a prominent academic, appeared before dozens of reporters. But even after

the release of the movie—based on Hearst's 1982 book about her experiences, *Every Secret Thing*—the mystery of her conversion to the SLA still intrudes. "The film is very ambivalent about her," director Schrader said last week in an interview. "It's an ironic situation. A 19-year-old girl is plucked from her environment and made into a symbol for various groups, both right and left. If she had died, they would have had a hero's funeral with out of her."

Schrader, who has written scripts for such provocative films as *Taxi Driver* and *The Last Temptation of Christ*, did not write *Patty Hearst*. And he said that Nicholas Kazan's screenplay posed a difficult challenge. "It had a potent protagonist," explained Schrader. "It is the story of an empty vessel." Indeed, much of Schrader's movie is devoted to the 57-day period in which Hearst was kept locked in a closet, allowed out only with a bloodthirsty British actress, Natasha Richardson—daughter of director Tony Richardson and actress Vanessa Redgrave—does a masterful job of playing a character who spends much of the movie in the dark, silently enduring verbal and physical abuse from her fearless captives. Hearst is forced to have sex with men she cannot see. She has visions of her new death, in which she looks up to see earth being shovelled onto her grave.

When she is finally allowed to remove the bloodstain, her kidnappers ask her to choose between going free and joining them. But after two months of sensory deprivation, the unknown is simply not terrifying; she imagines freedom as the death of another shovelful of dirt landing on her coffin. With chilling detachment, Schrader glides over the issue of Hearst's acquiescence. The audience can only guess at what she is thinking. And Richardson, who bears a remarkable resemblance to Hearst, maintains the intrigue with a Mona Lisa smile and the ironic apathy of a Californian actress.

By the time she joins the SLA, Hearst is a well-adjusted and dispassionate. Strong in mind but weak in heart, she watches her television coverage of the 1974 shooting in which 9,000 rounds of ammunition were exchanged between police and six SLA members loaded up in a Los Angeles hideout. The audience assumed that Hearst was among them. As the hideout is besieged in flames, killing everyone inside, she seems mesmerized by the spectacle of her own death. The documentary TV footage cuts into Schrader's stylized drama with brutal effect—a reminder of historic events that seem as surreal as Hearst's kidnapping. But the characters who defend Hearst's fate are



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portrayed as such inhuman robots that Schneider's drama takes on a bittersweet quality.

The *Key's* Gen. Paul Marshall Cope (Vig Rhoads) is a macabre black man surrounded by guilt-ridden middle-class whites. Against a sound track of death-like music, he accuses, "Death to the fascist state!" Attracted by European critics for presenting a crude caricature of the extreme left, Schneider says that the *Key* was more of an utopian cult than a revolutionary organization. But too often in his film,

people were injured when 500 lb. of dynamite planted by the group exploded prematurely in October, 1962.

At first, *Key* reveals in the spartanly set-dressed and petty dispatching of the group's early outings that as the actors escalate to what Hansen calls "heavy-duty ideology," Belmas becomes increasingly nervous. In a typical example of the film's heavy-handed dialogue, she says, "I feel down my head, like I'm being sucked into something beyond my control."

The first half of *The Squamish Five* is slow

and we paid a bit of a price for that." Although Zukerman maintains that his film is accurate, some have charged that it paints a distorted picture of the Squamish Five and ignores their goals. The film attracted protesters when it was screened at film festivals recently in Toronto and Vancouver. But Zukerman recalls that he did not find enough evidence of the group's ideals in the writings or articles of the group. He said, "We could have been a lot harder on the Five."

Steen, however, shared some of the protesters' concerns. The actress, who was 19 when she played Belmas, recalled that she felt "really nervous" reading the writing transcripts. "We stuck to the facts," she said, "but we're taking a selective number of facts. The public will automatically equate the actors with the real people. But you only see part of it, and that's frightening for us as an actor." Added Steen, "I wish we could have delved more into the group's motivation and what they believed in."

Meanwhile, the real Julie Belmas, interviewed by telephone from British Columbia's Twin Maple maximum security prison, 30 km from Vancouver, said that she knew the film, but she had a few reservations. Some of the Squamish Five were "shown too loosely," she said, explaining that Taylor was actually subordinate to Rhoads in the leader role. "But the portrayal of me was very accurate. I'm not an overly intelligent person. I'm kind of flighty, a little scared up, and I just went for it." Added Belmas: "I was in a very black-and-white headspace. I still have those extremes in my personality, but I'm an artist now."

While waiting for her parole hearing, due before Christmas, Belmas knows the prison on day passes to study art at Emily Carr School of Art. She is also undergoing therapy to deal with an eating disorder—and with the trauma of spending four years in maximum security. Her year in Kingston's Prison for Women, which houses the country's most dangerous female offenders, was a nightmare that is still vivid to discuss. Remembering her revolutionary past made her an unpopular inmate, she said. "I never fit in."

The Belmas story begins with a bid for freedom—and ends in a jail cell. The *Heard* story unfolds in the opposite order: It begins with incarceration in a chair. From then on, *Heard* is engaged in a struggle to regain control of her destiny. Post dependent on the wealth of the *Heard* publishing dynasty, free as the daisy of her sixties, she later becomes a court, she finds career and her own identity. *Heard* and Belmas look far into the political scenes beyond their comprehension. And two films have dramatized their ordeals with empathy. Still, in trying to come to terms with the forces behind the facts, the filmmakers seem at least in the debt to their subjects.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Scene from *The Squamish Five*: the group turned to "heavy-duty ideology"

had acting serves as a weak form of parody.

Schneider has made a provocatively uncomfortable movie that is hard to watch and satisfying in its revelation that he has at least avoided the usual Hollywood formula, by which *Heard* would end up as just another romantic heroine overcoming impossible odds. And the power of Richardson's magnetic presence makes the whole exercise worthwhile.

The Squamish Five is a pure conventional film. But again, it has a strong lead performance. Toronto-based actress Rhona Ryan plays Julie Belmas as a sweet, vulnerable girl who is seduced by the thrill of revolutionary action. A push-over he, she meets Direct Action's founder, Brent Taylor (Michael McKelvey) and Ann Hansen (Polly Gushki), at a concert. Belmas joins the group with her boyfriend, a shiffling punk musician named Gerry Harsh (David McLeish). Unlike the *Key*, *Direct Action* tried to confuse its attacks to corporate property, attempting to draw attention to such issues as pollution, worker rights and pornography. They suggested that our letters because the computer manufactured, publisher systems for the American cruise missile. Ten

and widely scripted. The portrayal of Taylor as the group's power most leader is too wooden to be credible. And the political discussions, punctuated with such comments as "I'm analyzing rocks," seems contrived. With the *Heard* incident, the story picks up momentum. And the scene in which Belmas and her comrades are arrested on a highway near Squamish, B.C., is superbly executed by director Donovan. During the last full hour, the story finally coalesces into gripping drama.

To document the group's demise, the filmmakers made a wealth of documentary material. Toronto screenwriters Ken Goss and Terence McKenna based much of the script on 12,000 pages of transcripts from wiretapped conversations. The movie had the group's Vancouver house under electronic surveillance day and night for seven weeks before their arrest. Producer Zukerman explained that all the film's dialogue was based on information from the wiretaps or interviews with Belmas—the other two were allowed to collaborate. Agreeing that our letters could have been more enhanced, the producers said, "We didn't want to fictionalize anything—

The sweet sound of success

Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil takes flight

Memories have said for years that Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil deserved to be designated a national treasure. Canadian folk music fans have enjoyed the joyful beauty of her voice since the 1960s. Women adopted the do-si-do mother of two as their own in the mid-1970s, when her haunting ballads and luscious lyrics captured both their dreams and their smothering frustrations. And many more people from across Canada and around the world fell under MacNeil's spell two years ago, when she gave 60 excellent concerts in six weeks of Vancouver's Expo '86. But it has taken MacNeil's diverse and instantly loyal audience more than two decades to learn the kind of ease on which a performer's career is successfully built. Now 43, after years of uncertainty, the midlife pop star from Red Head, Cape Breton (population 175) is flying on her own.

Her latest album, *Reveries in Defense*, peaked platinum status last week after selling 100,000 copies. In fact, by the end of last year, sales for it and two other records, last year's *Flying in Your Own Skin* and her new Christmas release, *Now the Birds Sing* (released this week, with advance orders already at 70,000), will easily exceed 300,000 copies—a rare accomplishment for a Canadian artist without a hit single at home or even a record release in the United States. Last month, she sang for an appreciative audience of 16,000 at Halifax's Metro Centre, the largest crowd ever drawn there by a Maritimer. And her current cross-country tour is attracting capacity crowds.

A performance at Toronto's 2,812-seat Roy Thomson Hall on Nov. 5 sold out even before it was widely advertised, leading to the addition of another show on Nov. 27. And in Vancouver, where she concludes the western leg of her tour on Dec. 19, strong ticket sales have led to a third scheduled concert at the 2,680-seat Queen Elizabeth Coliseum. Such figures dwarfed MacNeil's 1984-based success. "Only a year ago, we were too frightened to even script an Ontario tour. Now we are convinced that she can have a leg to stand on the border within a year." In an interview with MacNeil's last week, the towering 50-year-old housewife at Sydney where she lives much of the year with her son, Wade, MacNeil spoke with characteristic modesty about her recent success. But Mac-

Neil: "I cannot believe my good fortune."

When MacNeil walked onstage last week at the 500-seat Arts Center at Brookville, Ont., 75 km east of Kingston, Ont., she received the warm, enthusiastic welcome that greets her everywhere she performs in Canada. But her short stature and dumpling shape, which belie the now pop image she has chosen for herself, caused a gasp from at least one concertgoer. Still, MacNeil, who wears a trademark floppy hat and a minimalist royal-blue overalls atop a shortish pale-blue skirt, quickly charmed



MacNeil in Peterborough, Ont., continues

the few skeptics with her self-deprecating humor and her astonishing voice—sweet and pure one moment, down and dirty the next. Reinforced by her versatile band, MacNeil kicked off her show and set about seducing her mostly middle-aged audience with new material and old favorites performed with a fresh twist. Although the songs Part of the Mystery with tender acoustic accompaniment, the audience seemed suit to care when the song drifted into ballad rock, complete with flashing stage lights. They responded with two standing ovations and called MacNeil back for four encores.

MacNeil's fans say they are surprised that her compelling voice has not attracted more astronomical attention and that her modest, toiled as a songwriter but not been more widely recognized. But Anne Murray, whose recent version of MacNeil's tribute to female liberation, *Flying in Your Own Skin*, was little surprise, attributes at least some of her dedication to the nature of the music industry itself. "That song, which I loved the first time I heard it, got a terrific response from live audiences," Murray told MacNeil. "It died after one reason, it is written from a woman's point of view—and all the radio programmers are men. I don't have much time for people like that, but that's the way it is in the business." And Murray added that MacNeil's appearance may prove to be a harbinger in an industry that often relies on youth, looks and formula.

Still, MacNeil is defying the odds. She admits that it has taken years for her to overcome her self-consciousness about her cumbly body and to move away from behind a stationary microphone to the front of the stage. But while the Canadian music establishment has yet to fully embrace her, acceptance is clearly growing. In 1985, she proudly accepted a Juno Award as Canada's "most promising female vocalist," an honor that some vocalists' performances might have taken to no avail.

MacNeil began making water afloat—literally on many-labeling stations in smaller centres across Canada—with last year's *Flying in Your Own Skin*. Now, with the more aggressively stylish *Reveries in Defense*, produced by Toronto's Decca/Delux label, she has taken her success to the next level. Virgin Records, are producing "entirely" success which, for MacNeil, means a penetration of the urban markets and the pop charts. Yet, as she finds herself on the edge of pop stardom, MacNeil knows a new challenge: how to retain a broader audience without compromising the deeply personal quality of her music.

She lately disputes suggestions, made by some reviewers who found *Reveries in Defense* too lush and over-sentimental, that she has lost contact of her center. Still MacNeil: "I am very nervous of labels—and any changes in



At home in Sydney: songs for Maritimers, feminists, folk—and now pop—fans

my music are changes I make myself." The singer, who was reuniting with members of her family before embarking on her Ontario tour, added "There is no level of music I don't like and I use every song as a chance to grow. People forget that I got my start here at home singing in places where all they wanted was rock 'n' roll. The fact is, I love it."

MacNeil was almost universal acclaim for her songs, including comparisons such as *She's Called Nova Scotia*, which have become regional anthems. Her sense of place and her attitude, often painted belatedly to loud, love and indifferent feminists strike sympathetic chords in hard rock managers and rock-hardened music labels, according to MacNeil, the proud moment of her career took place last month when she sang *Working Man's*—her tribute to Maritime coal-diggers—with a staccato cheer called the blues of the Deeps to a rapturous end, in many cases, transfixed Atlantic audience. Some of her most affecting compos-

itions deal with her working-class parents—who was the fourth of eight children. Old Mac is a tribute to her father, a carpenter who built many of the houses at Big Pond, the song *Reveries in Defense* celebrates her homemaker mother, who died 18 years ago. Said MacNeil: "She was a great inspiration to me. It is a sad story to me that she never got to see me perform or to hear one of my records."

Another of her songs, *The Man's Going Round Again*, extends an olive branch to Toronto, which she says nearly broke her spirit more than a decade ago. When MacNeil sang, "And that is where my song began," and to her, she was not only in Toronto audiences, the spiced tunes and medley with songs dug out a difficult period in her life. When she left Big Pond for the mainland after completing high school in 1963, MacNeil says, she was convinced that the world was waiting to embrace her. "It was a dream that carried me from Cape Breton," she recalled. "Singing

was always with me since I was a child. I felt it was what I had to do and that I had to leave Cape Breton to make it come true."

MacNeil arrived around about her 19 years in Toronto from 1963 to 1973. "The city was good to me in many ways, but there were many years of struggle too," she said. She declined to talk about the man she married there, with whom she had two children, Laura, now 22, and Wade, 18. The marriage was short-lived, and love and harmony claimed her. She endured a series of low-paying jobs, including positions in a part-time clerk at Father's and as a cleaning woman. Occasionally, she relied on welfare when she was desperate and sang when she could. Her occasional appearances at Toronto's oldest Reverend folk club and many other venues were at the 100-regularly but not even her small but devoted group of admirers. But her music, the recalls, "never did pay the rent." She added, "There were times I would just go to sleep."

But in those dark years, MacNeil found inspiration from an unexpected source. She drafted into Toronto's lively folk scene, usually and quickly because its unofficial roadhouse. And she began to write songs. The feminist experience, MacNeil says now, changed her life forever. "Before that, I was just going, I wasn't aware of a lot of things about myself and about the world. It was a great inspiration to me." Her first album, 1975's *Don't a Woman*, drew on that inspiration—and won her an audience that is still fervently loyal.

But the women who claim MacNeil to their own have had to share her. Few singers enjoy the kind of following that she has in the Maritimes. "So many Maritimean performers—Walt Carter, Black Snow, Anne Murray, Carroll Baker—have gone down the road and never come back," said Diamond. "Rita moved back and they love her in it." That assessment is confirmed by residents of Big Pond. "She was like a bad seed and about her here," said Mary Macleod, from behind the counter of the village's tiny general store. "She can sing whenever she likes, we love her."

Life was still difficult when MacNeil returned, discouraged, to Cape Breton in 1978, but her friends and family close knit together. Family kept her afloat. Still, MacNeil recalls how terrible the singer's financial situation was. "The For Side song on her little house would go up, then she would get a contract, and it would come down," she said. "A month later, it would go up again." She went on the year. Two years on, she was on the bright and overworked Atlantic coast down for good.

Last year, MacNeil bought a house in Sydney a concession to the harsh Big Pond winters and a testimony to her growing career, which requires proximity to Sydney airport for frequent trips to and from the mainland. "I've been to Sydney and I've been to Sydney. As her devoted following extends beyond Maritimers, feminists and folkies, and even, and even into her own father's side, the sweetest voices of her big voice still knows the notes of her down-east roots.



Brian and Terence McKenna in northern France: tragic and meaningless

TELEVISION

Carnage and heroism

A Canadian look at the First World War

THE KILLING GROUND
Directed by Brian McKenna
(CBC, Nov. 8, 9 p.m.)

Seventy years ago, the last battles of what people once called "the war to end all wars" ended. Most of the soldiers are dead now, leaving the horror of the First World War to be forgotten—or remembered—by new generations of Canadians. Feature journalist and film maker Brian McKenna is one of those who remember. But he acknowledges that his interest began only after his young daughter, Robin, asked why the name Adrian McKenna appeared on the war memorial near McKenna's boyhood home in Montreal. He knew only that Cpl. McKenna, his grandfather's brother, had been killed while serving with the Canadian Army in France. He soon began exploring the history of the war in war. Working with his brother, Terence, a reporter for CBC's *The Journal*, he assembled his findings in *The Killing Ground*, a two-hour documentary that looks at the First World War from a Canadian perspective. Comprehensive and hard-hitting, the film should do more than all the plastic poppets of Remembrance Day to help Canadians understand why that war was perhaps the most tragic and meaningless conflict in history.

Altogether, Canada lost over 80,000 men in the First World War—about 14,000 more than

the United States lost in Vietnam. For a country of only eight million, the scale of the death toll is astronomical in contemporary terms. It is as if the entire city of Windsor, Ont., were destroyed. To give a palpable meaning to such figures, the McKenna brothers have created a rich collage of film footage, paintings by artists who witnessed the battles (including A.Y. Jackson), and on-screen interviews conducted by Terence McKenna. In the company of various military historians, he scrolls over the now-grassy, partly pocked battlefields, sketching in the strategies that cost four million men their deaths on the Western Front. But what gives the film its emotional impact is the dramatized sections in which actors, dressed in army uniforms, speak the thoughts of individual soldiers. Taken from letters and diaries, their testimonies bring the Great War down to the personal and comprehensive level of individuals who knew their chances of surviving were slim.

Early in the war, the opposing armies—the Germans on one side, the British, French and their colonial allies on the other—because

bogged down in the stalemate of trench warfare. Then, in 1915, near Ypres, a small town in Belgium, the Germans released 160 tons of chlorine gas. As *The Killing Ground* relates, the deadly cloud drifted toward a section of the Allied lines held by French colonial troops and Canadians. The French ran, but the Canadians held. They had unrolled into their handkerchiefs and held them up over their mouths and noses, creating crude gas masks. But while they successfully contained the Germans, hundreds were killed or injured for life. Pte. Jack Randall (played by Michael McMahon) later wrote: "I got back from hell itself that night. Our battalion lost 800 of 1,000 men."

The Canadian troops were sent the same again after the baptism of fire at Ypres. They had proved that they could stand among the toughest combatants in the war, a reputation the Allied commanders only too readily took advantage of in the years that followed. *The Killing Ground's* account of their part in the 2015 Battle of the Somme is particularly chilling. The Allied commander, Gen. Douglas Haig, was so confident of victory that he ordered his attacking troops to walk, not run, toward the enemy lines. On the first day of the battle, there were 57,000 casualties, including many Canadians. The renowned 799-strong 1st Newfoundland Regiment was annihilated. The next day, Haig ordered that the attack continue. It did—with more results. When the battle was finally over, Gen. Haig is one of the supreme villains of the war—was promoted to field marshal.

In the face of stupidity, brutality and sheer horror, many troops lost their nerves and refused to fight. *The Killing Ground* points out that psychological casualties of the war were simply overlooked. The British shot 317 of their own men for desertion—and also 25 Canadians (the Canadian Army was under British command). By contrast, the Austrians refused to let any of their deserters under British command be executed. The Australian government believed that death for deserters was too severe a penalty for volunteers fighting for a European cause.

The Killing Ground recovers its account of such dark aspects of the war with a few curious little-known incidents. Get some sense that in 1914, hungry Canadian troops looted the French town of Arras, leaving only a mission and helping themselves to stores of lobster and fine wine. When it did, others began guarding the loot, looting groceries at the few British military policemen who dared to approach the retailers. It was a contrast of desperate faith in a war that, as *The Killing Ground* makes clear, was an avoidable nightmare from beginning to end.

JACOB ROBINSON



Actor Alf Humphreys: four million men went to die



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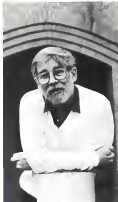
The memoirs of a celebrated broadcaster

THE PRIVATE VOICE: A JOURNAL OF REFLECTIONS
By Peter Gzowski
(McCollind and Stewart, 327 pages, \$24.95)

Perhaps the most famous voice on Canadian radio is a wistful baritone that sounds as if its owner had just crawled out of bed. But it is not just the quality of Peter Gzowski's voice that makes his CBC

showed must that knows how to surface his guests into chatting so memorably as if they were sitting at their own kitchen tables. His act has made *Morningside* into a national institution—and even into a celebrity. He has even reached a time in his career when he can write a book about himself and expect it to sell well. But readers of his new *rebiographical* memoir, *The Private Voice*, may well be disappointed. Despite many fascinating passages, Gzowski on the page is less riveting than Gzowski on the airwaves.

The author writes that he began the book in the spring of 1987, while he was recovering from the embarrassing *Morningside* schedule daily planning and running of *Morningside's* 1987 fall season, a season that says his most devoted fans could find interesting. The *Private Voice* is an uneven achievement. It could have benefited from the rigorous editing and organization that make Gzowski's presence on radio so engaging.



Gzowski avoiding the minefield of his youth

That is an ambitious aim, but, unfortunately, Gzowski lives up to it only sporadically. His writing about his youth is disappointingly brief and guarded. Gzowski, who was born in 1924 in Toronto, recalls that he grew up in Galt, Ont., the child of divorced parents. He also writes about the acute that diagnosed his back and face and helped make his teenage years miserable. Yet this education is already available in magazine articles about Gzowski—and he adds almost nothing to it from his fund of private memories. For most circumstances, the first 30 years of life are the source of richly detailed anecdotes. But for Gzowski, that period is already a minefield to be avoided.

He is more forthcoming when he recalls his young adulthood. From his early days as a reporter for the University of Toronto student paper, *The Harpur*, Gzowski rose rapidly through the ranks of journalists. He worked for several newspapers and *Mailbox*'s before be-

coming the host in 1971 of *This Country in the Morning*, an earlier version of *Morningside*. His self-proclaimed climb to success and fame, however, helped destroy his marriage to Jerry Lassman, with whom he had five children. Gzowski is particularly touching on the subject of his breakup. He writes that his son John was scowling at him for meeting out that he began keeping a box of cassette tapes in his room—knowing that Gzowski has a phobia about cassettes. Gzowski's current relations with his teenage children, he reports, are much more amiable.

Gzowski is also disarmingly candid about the several depressive, alcohol-related years that followed his 1974 departure from *This Country in the Morning*. And he tells a few revealing tales about the failure of his short-lived, late-eight '70s talk show, *30 Minutes Late*—including the time that his guest, Patti LaBelle, stuck his hand as a lead promoter to see if he could slow it down. His finger was stuck to the bone—although the audience did not realize it because LaBelle had the presence of mind to hold his wounded arm behind his back while the blood gushed onto the studio floor.

The book works well when it concentrates on such petty anecdotes. But it founders on Gzowski's overly detailed descriptions of daily planning and running of *Morningside's* 1987 fall season, a section that says his most devoted fans could find interesting. The *Private Voice* is an uneven achievement. It could have benefited from the rigorous editing and organization that make Gzowski's presence on radio so engaging.

JOHN BEMIS

MAGAZINE'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICION

- 1 *The Sign of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 2 *The Cardinal of the Guelphs*, Clancy (2)
- 3 *Alaska*, McInerney (3)
- 4 *For My Mother's Sake*, Kinsley (3)
- 5 *Days*, Steel (7)
- 6 *Car's Eye*, Alford (5)
- 7 *The Secret Agenda*, Carlin (5)
- 8 *Travels of Gulliver*, Gulliver (10)
- 9 *Alaska*, McInerney (3)
- 10 *The Sign*, Patten (5)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 2 *The Sign of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 3 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (2)
- 4 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 5 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 6 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 7 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 8 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 9 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)
- 10 *Signs of the Cross*, Susan (1)

Compiled by Susan McGee



Presenting the worst to the world

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is something strange about Canadians in that they send their rhythms abroad. Or perhaps it is not so strange as that there are not enough nations at home to fill pay to fashionable entrepreneurs, of local stock, whose interest with the masses to make millions from travel parents on foreign shores. The records are quite clear: a distant list of Canadians who made millions have made the "huckle" while going elsewhere to do it. Perhaps they were ashamed of what they were doing so as to lose their pockets and didn't want the local neighbors and relatives to watch. Who knows what licks in the hearts of men who think they can take it with them and can't get enough?

We think, first of all, of Max Baerwick—late Lord Baerwick—late of Fredericton, who fled New Brunswick as too small and went on to seek money in London. After becoming a porn hater with the *Daily Express* one of the most shameless Fleet Street examples of white responsibility became one got to a parking garage, he purchased the garage that many jumped-up Canucks of his generation loved after, thinking he was becoming a better Canadian by becoming more British than the British.

Churchill rewarded him with a key to the city of London (which he never used), and the Baerwick attempted to make himself immortal in the country he abandoned by restoring helplessness Fredericton with everything from the Baerwick Hotel and the Baerwick Gallery and the Baerwick Water Fountain down, short city of the Baerwick. My dear Gentry—children not being thought of in these days.

We move briefly on to another famous expatriate, one Billy Berlin, himself also as a verbal one-man show relieved the British working class of their few shillings and pence while they waited all the way through the freezing British's blinding Canada, revealed ridiculous screams of concentration camps, exploited the best-and-worst concept of the colon mills not factories. The first audience, along with all the boom and the laughter all year, were aware away as remote every summer to jelly versions of this



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dren's camps where he was rendering every-thing every morning and perhaps and possibly paymasters gave the bells of Lancaster their first idea of what holidays were supposed to be about—before they got into their pants.

It was weird, the masses loved it since they had no idea how to holiday on their own, and Billy made millions. He was followed in England by fellow-Canadians Garfield Windsor, the Canadian King, who swallowed the party industry and introduced the Brits to what he called that tasted like cardboard and had the same effects as the marijuana.

Next came an innovative lack by name of Roy Thomson, who had Baerwick's greed but more of his liver. After establishing the most dreadful sensibility of newspapers in his Canadian rip-off read chain, he bought the *Times* of London in an attempt to buy credibility, and purchased—since they are so sale for the night response—a page from the *Times* govern-

ment and became Lord Thomson of Fleet, which should better have been named Fleetingly.

He has left, as his successors, his son Lord Schtroupsen (as he is known around *The Globe and Mail*, one of the only two decent papers he possessed) and grandson David, the 300th ambitious type who has been debbling in the empire's living department store financially but is now, the hot word has it, chairman of the head of the *Globe's* Billionaire-bumpoon publisher, Roy Mcgregor.

To Thomson's shame, it accepted the bribe of heavy Thomson money to name its Arthur Evelyns-designed concert center the Roy Thomson Hall, dedicated to a philanthropist who probably never attended a symphony performance in his life. Such is Toronto.

We move briefly, and finally, to our final favorite Canadian, one Jack Kent Cooke, present owner of the present world champion of football, the *Washington Redskins*. Jack Kent actually started his fortune at the feet of Roy Thomson in Kirkland Lake, where they shared radio together. After passing through in owner of the Toronto Maple Leaf minor baseball club he ended up in Los Angeles as owner of the then-dominant L.A. Kings members of the National Hockey League. When he sold out, after codices empty houses, he said, "There are 600,000 Canadians living in southern California. I now know why they moved here—they all hate hockey."

Jack Kent, all-Canadian born, set another record in California. He made it into the Guinness Book of World Records, thanks to his \$40-million settlement in divorce his first marriage, which Guinness says is the world mark.

The only problem in the third marriage, Jack, who is now a widower 76 and a billionaire and owns the Chrysler Building and horse racing stables and cable TV systems, last year married a divorcee 29-year-old, who, she says, had two abortions by him, couldn't steal a third, and they made a marriage made in heaven in July of 1987. Rosalind and Nancy sent their congratulations.

Josephine Kent Cooke was born in *Sage* Fleet week in January, while David—what'd I find for divorce number one—was off celebrating with his fiancée as the new hard-earned champion of the globe. He has yet to see his daughter, the lawyers in both sides being heavily involved in some serious matters.

Bruce Maloney talks a lot about free trade and opportunists abroad. The only question is, why do we send guys like this abroad to represent us?



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